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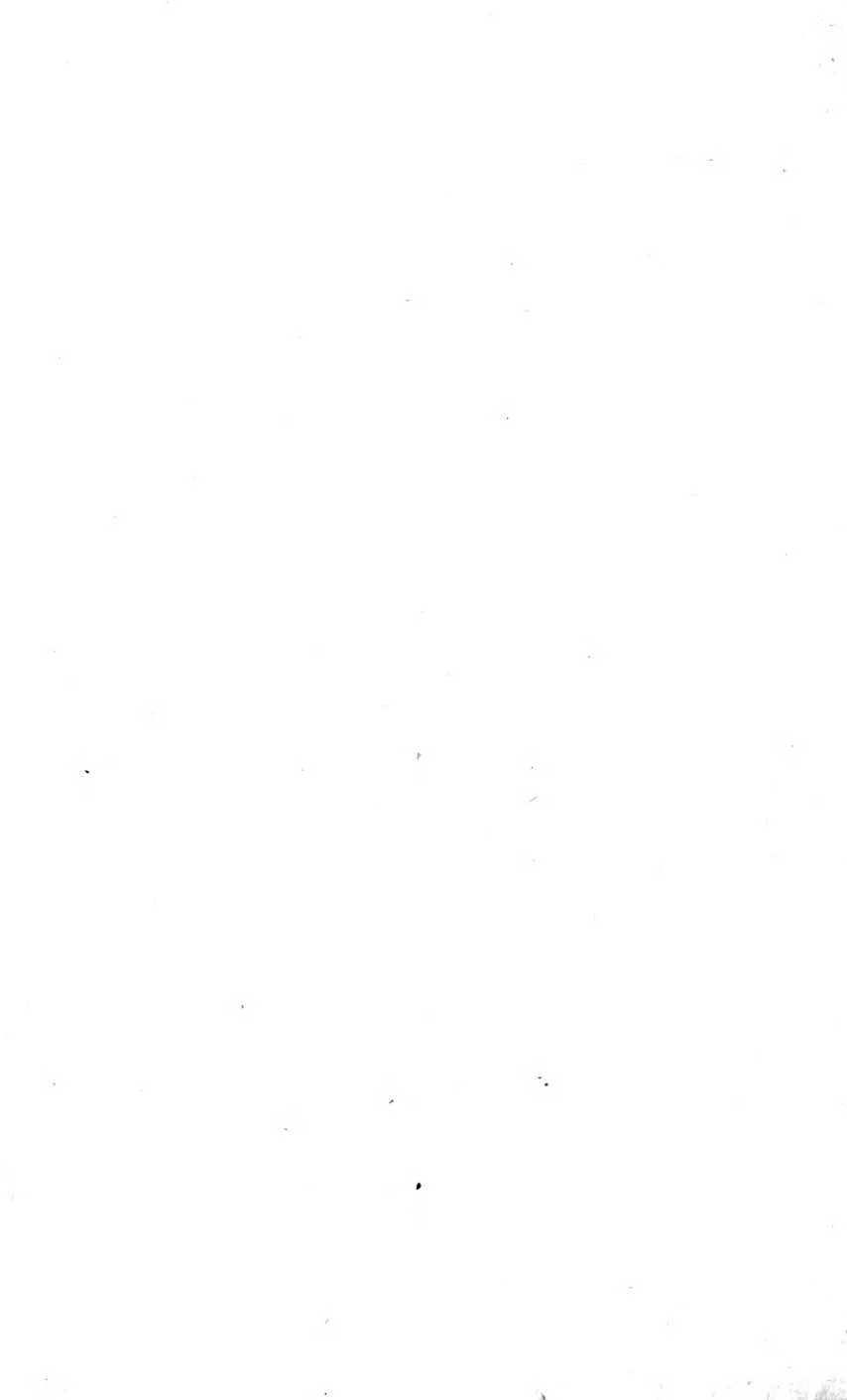
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CROWLEY, Thomas) Letters and Dissertations on Various
Subjects. A.P. On the Dispute
between Great Britain and America. London, for the Author. (1776?)

2 vols., contemporary boards, rebacked, Lambeth Library
stamp on title. ** Crowley was a rather unorthodox
author of his Letters, which were previously printed in 1774.
His signature 'Amor Patrie', show a strong mercantile
reconciliation with the colonists by largely meeting their
demands for representation in Parliament. For a list
of his works according to the B.M.C. also include 'Poetical Essays
in the English Catl of Friends Books'. Both Smith and the B.M.C.
above - see also Sabin 17704. Not in Kress.



LETTERS
AND
DISSERTATIONS

ON
VARIOUS SUBJECTS,

BY THE
AUTHOR of the LETTER

ANALYSIS A. P. *P. 249.*

On the DISPUTES between

Great Britain *and* America.

L O N D O N :

Printed for the AUTHOR;

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BIBLIOTHECA

LAMETHANA

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LETTERS
AND
DISSERTATIONS
ON
VARIOUS SUBJECTS, &c.

To the Right Hon. G. G.

Right Hon. Sir,

THE enormous Size of the public Debt, makes it appear to be the Duty of every one whose Situation and Capacity puts it in his Power to properly consider of some effectual Means of reducing it, and of thereby more effectually restoring public Credit; and also thereby convincing our natural Enemies, that if provoked this Nation will have sufficient Resources to maintain any other War that may become needful; and thus our Enemies may be the more effectually confined to a pacifick Disposition, from a Consciousness of their own Weakness, and of our growing Strength: To bring about this desirable Event, I know of no Method of more considerable Consequence and more promising of the End proposed, than by Act of Parliament to make a new general impartial or equal Valuation, and Assessment of the Land-Tax, which besides the salutary Effect to the State, would be no more or less than

administ'ring common Justice to the Subject of real Property, in as much as the Lands and Tenements in the City of London and elsewhere, which have been rated at their full Rents, and paid 4s. in the Pound thereon for so many Years to support the War, besides an additional Tax on the Stock of the Tenant, equal in many Cases to half as much besides, ought now in Point of Justice to be eased of some Part of that heavy Tax, and at the same Time these Places, &c. who have been rated at only a half, a third, a quarter Part, or much less, as is the Case in many Parts, should have it augmented, for the reasonable Good of the State, and in order that Justice may be extended by obliging those who have so heavily and so long bore the Burthen; and as such general new Assessment, can never be so suitably and happily carried into Execution, as when it suits the Government to lower the Land-Tax from 4 s. to 3 s. or 2 s. in the Pound. I cannot help thinking it a Matter of the highest Importance for the Lords of the Treasury to have it under their most serious Consideration, as it may very probably be found that 2 s. in the Pound under such just Re-valuation, would bring in much more than 4s. does now, and would make an excellent Resource for further Aid to Government hereafter, if need should be; and if any should object to it on Account of its tending to discourage Improvements, that Objection may be happily removed by a Clause in the Act, to exempt all new Buildings from the Tax for some Years, from the Time of being built or cover'd in: It is further humbly suggested, that this salutary Scheme would do more towards promoting Confidence and Security in the public Funds (as their Safety has Relation to the future Abilities of the State to do the Nation Justice in support of any future necessary War) than any other Scheme whatever.

The Author of these Lines has no Interest in View, separate from the common Good proposed to the State and the Publick hereby, being himself a Landholder, whose whole real Estate is now, and has long been in common with all other Estates in the Neighbourhood thereof, rated at less than one fourth Part of the real Rents thereof.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
Jan. 2, 1765.

To Right Hon. G. G.

May it please the Lords of Trade.

Right Hon. Sir,

HAVING been inform'd that it has been lately, or is, under Consideration how far a Benefit might accrue to the Mother Country, and consistent with or promoting the Interest of the Colonies, by allowing a Bounty on Bar Iron; and it having occurred to me in considering the Matter, that if a Duty was laid on Bar Iron, at the Forge in America, of about 4 *l. per* Ton, and to be drawn back on Exportation thereof from the Colonies to the Mother Country; and further if the Duties so raised on what is consumed there, or not exported, or the chief Part thereof (reserving a Share quite equal to the Expence attending) was to be apply'd in paying a Bounty also on all so exported from thence to the Mother Country. This Scheme I apprehend would be the most proper and effectacious Method of discouraging the Manufacturers there interfering with the Mother Country; and also would most effectually and properly encourage the Iron Masters and the Merchants in America, to raise and export Bar Iron in much greater

greater Quantities than has been hitherto done. I therefore as a Well-wisher to the mutual Interest of the Mother Country and the Colonies, have been led to think it not inconsistent with my Duty to communicate these well meant Hints, in order to your serious Consideration thereof, as a Matter of some Importance and Consequence.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
May 1, 1765,*

P. S. Am not insensible it may be deem'd a proper Province of the Board of Trade, but have also considered your previous Approbation, may the better prepare it for Success.

To Right Hon. G. G.

Right Hon. Sir,

THE vast Numbers of working People now out of employ, and complaining of the Decay of Trade, though they do not properly distinguish the Causes from whence it arises, yet so far merit the Regard of those who, as Guardians to their Country, having ever at Heart more or less the Welfare of her Trade, and of employing her Poor, in a Manner the most conducive to the general Good, that I doubt not any salutary Hint, honestly intended to obviate a Measure, which from a Multiplicity of great Concerns, might otherwise escape the Consideration of Government; will be well received, when it appears to arise from no sinister Views; without further Apology, it has occurred to the Author of these Lines, that a Canal from Lechlade to Gloucester, whereby to join the Navigation of the River-Thames and Severn, would considerably promote the Trade

Trade between London and Bristol, Gloucester and many Places, where heavy Iron and other Manufactures are carried on, upon and near the Banks of the Severn, and would in many Respects prove of great Utility to those Manufactures, and to the Trade of London; and if ever such a Scheme be put in Practice it should be at such a Time as this, when such Numbers of poor Manufacturers want employ, which temporary Expedient until Trade revives, may prevent many from seeking employ in Foreign Countries, and being thereby lost to their Country.

I am not insensible that it might have consequently some Tendency in a small Measure to lessen the Commerce by Sea, between the same Places, and in some small Proportion thereby lessen the Nursery for Seamen; but, the Measure thereof would probably be so inconsiderable, as not to preponderate against the Benefit arising, otherwise from such a beneficial Scheme, be that as it will, I hope it may be thought an Object worthy of the serious Attention of our worthy Ministry, whose Abilities and Penetration I doubt not from several of their Performances, will discover on which Side, and in what Proportion, Advantages and Disadvantages might arise therefrom.

A M O R P A T R I Æ.

To the P R I N T E R.

AS the Stamp Act and the Situation of American Affairs appear to be a very arduous and important Concern to the Interest of Great Britain and her Colonies, every one who hath any rational Scheme to propose seems to be at Liberty to communicate his Mite.

Permit

Permit me therefore through the Channel of your impartial Paper to propose an *Expedient*, as a *Medium*, whereby to reconcile the Mistakes in Judgment and Conduct, which have happened on both Sides of the Question.—'Tis evident beyond a Doubt to the intelligent and impartial, that after the very extraordinary Efforts effectually made by Great Britain in the late War, to save the Colonists from Destruction or imminent Danger thereof, and attended with an enormous Load of Debts incur'd by the Mother Country in Consequence thereof, that America, now firmly secured from foreign Enemies, should be somehow induced to contribute towards the Exigencies of State in future—and on the other Side of the Question, the Matter urged by them, of their being lately tax'd *without their Consent*, being a self-evident Truth, and the *Insufficiency* of the Argument asserting their being virtually represented in Parliament, as compar'd with *unincorporate Towns* in England, being very evident, as none of the Members of Parliament are chosen by them, or lyable to be either instructed or censured by them, nor re-elected, or set aside by them at subsequent Elections, and so have not that Check on them which their real Constituents have: And as they the Colonists seem to have a constitutional Right, as Englishmen to be consulted, and to co-operate with the Legislature, in laying Taxes on themselves, It seems that the violent Measures taken by the People in America, and the Consequences thereof, may be much more happily remedied than punished by a *Return of Violence*: Suffer me then to propose, that to soften the Difficulties on both Sides, the *Stamp-Act* should be only *suspended for three Years*, in order to find out an *Expedient for Reconciliation*, in the *mean Time*; and then suppose *each Colony*, in Proportion to their several Sizes and Proportion of Inhabitants, *should be invited*; against, or previous to the next general Election in
Great

Great Britain, to elect and send 5, 4, 3, 2 or 1 Members to sit in Parliament, so to form *an Union*, and give them Opportunity to plead their own Cause, and co-operate in considering some better Method of *their*, the Colonists, contributing some small Share towards the Exigencies of State, for their own Defence; and when so met and assembled in Parliament, after the next general Election, which will be before the Expiration of said three Years; then the said Stamp-Act to be reconsidered, and not before, and then to be repealed or confirm'd, or another Method substituted in lieu thereof; with their own Concurrence: Their several Assemblies in America would after retain the same Powers as heretofore, of making Provincial internal Laws, peculiar to their several particular Colonies; but in Matters relative to imperial or national Concerns, as regards *Protection* and *Defence*, such Laws to be enacted in the Parliament of Great Britain, and Dominions thereunto belonging, whose Powers, being that of King, Lords and Commons, united, is not like that of her King alone, limited by Law, but in respect of Law is *absolute*; nevertheless I hope will ever be restrain'd by her own Principle of *Justice, Mercy* and *Moderation*: It may be reasonably hoped, such a Coalition would most effectually cement the mutual common Interest of both Great Britain and her Colonies, and most effectually remove all Apprehension of any future Revolt: Then may further Bounties be granted on American Produce with Safety, and the Interest of one prove the common Interest of both, Great Britain and America; so consulting, and moving together in Peace and Concord and mutual Felicity—so wisheth the Author.

AMOR PATRIÆ:

Gracechurch-Street,
Jan. 1, 1766.

B

To

To Right Hon. G. G.

Right Hon. Sir,

I F the Sentiments convey'd in my last of 1st Instant, on the Subject of the American Stamp Act, should not have met with your Approbation, (though I am perfectly of Opinion that the Coalition Scheme is by far the best, for the future Interest, Peace and Tranquillity of all the King's Dominions) and if the Sentiments express'd by the Right Hon. W. P. in the House of Commons for a total and immediate Repeal, should be obtain'd with his Majesty's Ministers, suffer me in such Case, by Way of Precaution, humbly to obviate to your serious Consideration, that, which a Multiplicity of important Concerns may otherwise possibly have precluded your Attention ; I would wish, with all due Regard to my Duty and Station, and to the hearty Concerns I have for the Prosperity of the State and the Public, that you would previous to forming such Conclusion, well consider if a too precipitate and unlimited Repeal of the Act, might not consequently have some Tendency (they seeing the Success of their late Conduct) to *increase* in some of them, the Desire and Thirst after *Independance*, and too much lean towards encouraging Opposition to any Measure of Government in future, which they may not happen to like or approve ; and further to consider if it may not be a more salutary and prudent Measure, by Way of Accommodation and Reconciliation, for the present to *enact*, that the said Stamp-Act should stand repeal'd in Favour of each particular Colony, to be severally named in the Act, upon Condition only ; and so soon as they, or each or either of them severally, shall have passed an Act of Assembly in America for raising an annual Sum within each particular Province, equal to such
Sum

Sum Sterling, to be ascertain'd by A. P. here, as may be reasonably supposed or computed the said Stamp-Act, if obey'd, would have produced; and the Whole to be apply'd agreeable to the Intention of the said Act, for their Protection and Defence, but to be collected in the Currency of each Colony, and not wholly in Silver and Gold, being in Measure impracticable in some of the Provinces; and withal it may be well to consider if it may not be safer and more conciliating, to lodge such Duties, as a Fund, with the Governor, Council and Commissioners in each Province, to answer these Purposes, but subject entirely to the Disposition of Parliament, or King and Council here, as to the particular local Application thereof in America, as Occasion may occur: I should think this a very good Scheme, provided it did not, (by giving the Colonies immediate Relief) tend to prevent their gladly embracing the *Leave*, which agreeable to the Plan in mine of the first Day of this Month, might be now or soon given them, of petitioning the King and Council and the Legislature, for their having the Liberty and Benefit of electing and deputing Representatives to sit in the Parliament of Great Britain and Dominions thereto belonging, so forming *an Union*, which would very probably in the Long-run become the most certain Means of perfect Reconciliation, and of happy and durable general Peace; as it may be reasonably apprehended, if Differences should subsist or revive between Great Britain and her Colonies, our natural Enemies, or selfish Allies, will as soon as able, keep a look out, in order to make the most they can of it, and thereby put this Nation under the Necessity of borrowing further large Sums of Money to execute Military Measures, until the enormous, growing Size of our public Debt will prevent the Ability, or Practicability of further Loans; and then, if from thence a Failure of public Credit should ensue, as in such like

Circumstances would be probable, this Nation must then sink under the Load; and it's not improbable in such Case, that our Enemies in Europe, and our Colonies in America would, Phoenix like, raise themselves, as out of the Ashes of this Empire, and the latter become independent: Which for the Sake of my native Country, and the Good of the Whole, *I pray God, the Disposer of Events, to avert.*

I am very respectfully, a hearty Well-wisher to the Government and the Public,

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
Jan. 20, 1765.

Suppose the due Proportion of the Provinces to be, at this Time, as follows, but cannot be supposed to be near correct, being merely conjectural without the Aid of any one whatever; viz.

New York, - -	£. 5000	Canada, - - -	£. 4000
Jerseys, - -	3000	Nova-Scotia, - -	1000
Pennsylvania, and 3 } lower Counties,	7000	New Hampshire, -	2000
Maryland, - -	4000	Massachusetts's Bay,	7000
Virginia, - - -	5000	Rhode Island, -	2000
North Carolina, -	2000	Connecticut, - -	3000
South Carolina, -	5000		<hr/>
	<hr/>		19,000
	31,000		31,000
			<hr/>
			£. 50,000
			<hr/>

And the southern Colonies and the Islands in due Proportion.

All

All which I compute would be equal to the Produce of the Stamp-Act, if carried into Execution.

Idem, A. P.

To the Earl of B.

Right Hon. Sir,

THE Author of the printed Letter, signed *Amor Patriæ*, sent to your Lordship under Cover on New-Year's Day, or soon after (that being the Day 'twas first printed) now presumes with a modest Confidence arising from his conscious Aim and Intention therein, thus to address your Lordship, as the Favourite of his Sovereign, and I hope intentionally the Friend of the Public, as every Minister most certainly ought to be.

The arduous and important Concerns of Government at this very critical Juncture, in deciding the most important Affairs, that have happened in more than half a Century, within the King's Dominions, makes it a Duty in the highest Point of Light, for those whose Station and Abilities, have, under Providence, made them Arbiters of such important Decision, to exert their utmost Efforts to contribute their proper Share in the *necessary Work of raising Good out of Evil*, respecting the Consequences of the Stamp-Act, by making it subservient to the good and great End of laying more sure Foundation of *Peace, Concord and Tranquillity* throughout this extended Empire, than hitherto has ever yet subsisted; and if some further and more immediate Relief than before proposed be thought needful, by Way of Repeal, suffer me to suggest to your Lordship a Scheme already communicated to the M. of Rockingham, as the first
Commissioner

Commissioner of the Treasury, whereby the main End of the Act (so odious to the Americans) may be preserved in respect of their contributing towards Protection and Defence; and at the same Time it may and ought to pacify them in respect of their *Grand Objection*, of being Internally taxed without their Consent or Representation in Parliament, who think none can be so good Judges as the Inhabitants of each Colony, what Species of Tax will best coincide with the reasonable Interest, Abilities and Good-will of the People therein; so 'tis not the Size of the Tax or Duties proposed by the said Act, that has terrified them, but the Apprehension of the *Mode thereof being wrong*, and liable by being obey'd, to be drawn into a *dangerous Precedent*: For say the Colonists, "if those who cannot be so good Judges as ourselves of the best Mode, do claim Right in this first Attempt to take from us so small a Sum, without our previous or concurrent Consent; where is the Line drawn that bounds that Right, and what shall hinder their calling whenever they please for the rest of our Fortunes?" So they should humbly pray the Government here, to re-consider their Case, and to grant them such Relief as in the Wisdom which is from above, may be seen meet and convenient, by our most Gracious King and his, I hope now, well-disposed Ministry, and *the Parliament*. The Scheme now proposed is to make the said Stamp-Act stand repealed in Favour of each particular Colony or Government in America, on and upon the several particular Assemblies of each such Governments or Colonies, passing an Act of Assembly there, to raise within themselves in such Manner as they most approve, such a proportional Sum in the Currency of each Colony, as shall be by an Act to be made here, deem'd an Equivalent, and be accepted in lieu of the said Stamp-Duties; and the better to elucidate this Matter I have inclosed or propos'd to inclose herewith a Calculation of
the

the supposed Number of Inhabitants in each Colony and the suitable Proportion *for* each Colony to raise, so near as even Numbers and Proportion for a Rule will easily admit; but to be submitted to a better Test, and further Securities than I can (having no Assistance) furnish herewith, nevertheless, I hope my feeble Endeavours, without Assistance, will not be wholly ineffectual, and if by furnishing a Hint, this should happily be improved into a more perfect and salutary Measure, I shall think myself happy in having thus attempted to exercise the Faculties which Heaven has bestowed in the voluntary Service of my King and Country; being amply rewarded by the Satisfaction I feel in my own Breast arising therefrom.

I am very respectfully, &c.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
Feb. 1, 1766.

Q. If it might not be a salutary and conciliating Measure to lodge the Duties so to be raised, as aforesaid, with the Governor and Council, &c. in each Colony, *subject to the Dispositions of the Parliament of Great Britain*, in respect of the local Application thereof in America; as such Measure might prevent the Suspicion of 'tis being otherways ~~prevented.~~

perverted

Idem, A. P.

The Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies, briefly analyzed.

1st. **T**HE Insufficiency of the Argument asserting their being virtually represented, as compared with unincorporate Towns in England, has been already exploded in the Letter signed *Amor Patriæ*, inserted in the *Gazetter*, 1st Jan. last, viz. "The Inhabitants of such Towns being many of them doubtless legal Electors of County Members; and otherwise the rest have by their Neighbourhood to, and Connections with, legal Voters of the Vicinage; Opportunity of acquiring the Means of giving Instructions to and influencing the Conduct of not only their proper County Members, but those who represent neighbouring Boroughs also, and the future Elections of such Members will always in some Measure depend on the Influence of even many of those who have no legal Votes themselves, so have they a strong Check on their Conduct; which is not the Case with the Americans, in respect of any one Member in the whole House, not a Man of them depending on the Colonists for his Seat in Parliament, or for their Instructions."

2dly. Another evident Reason why the Colonies cannot be justly deemed virtually represented and in Consequence thereof subjected to internal Taxation imposed by Parliament, and why, they, the Colonies, cannot be justly compared with such Towns in Great Britain is, because the Parliament of Great Britain cannot impose any internal Tax on the Inhabitants of such Towns, but that in so doing they and every Member thereof, would by the same Act Tax themselves also, in the same Proportion, which is a very good Security in favour of such Towns and other Non-electors in Great Britain, but which very good Security the Colonies

Colonies in their present State are entirely destitute of; in-
 somuch, that if they were now to acknowledge a Right in
 the Parliament so to Tax them (although in the present
 Case a very small Sum) without their previous or concu-
 rent Consent, in the present Mode of Things there is no
 Line drawn that bounds that Right, but that the same Par-
 liament might (after so dangerous a Precedent once establish-
 ed) call for any Part of their remaining Fortunes whenever
 they pleased so to do without any other Restraint than the
 Mercy and Benevolence of (in such Case) an arbitrary
 Power over them; and they, the Colonists, might every
 Year after be in Danger of hearing of a Law (made in
 Great Britain some Months before, and wherein they had
 no Opportunity of pleading for themselves or giving their
 previous or concurrent Consent or Dissent) which Law
 might, for any other Security they could rely on in the
 present Mode of Things, take away a Quarter, a Half, or
 a larger Part of their Estates, without a Line of any
 Kind of Limitation other than the Will and Power of a
 Parliament, in such Case despotic over their whole For-
 tunes, without their Concurrence or Co-operation, which
 it appears to them would be arbitrary in the strongest Point
 of Light.

3dly. It therefore appears, a fair and necessary Conclu-
 sion, that Great Britain must, in Point of Equity and the just
 Rights of the Colonists as Englishmen, either forever ex-
 empt them from, or never demand any internal Taxes at all,
 or else a Right of Representation must be granted them;
 which last appears evidently a very salutary Measure, as ne-
 cessary to prevent Divisions and Misunderstandings, and
 above all to prevent the Danger of our Enemies thereby in
 future, as soon as recruited and able, from taking Advan-
 tage thereof and sow the Seeds of Discontent, in order to

disunite and weaken this otherwise potent Empire, which from being properly united, they, our Enemies, do and will look on with Envy ; and may they do so, but utterly in vain, and that for evermore, is my hearty Desire.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Feb. 20, 1766.*

To the P R I N T E R.

THE Author of the Letter signed *Amor Patriæ*, inserted in this Paper on New Year's-day, has since made a Computation of the Numbers of Inhabitants in each Colony, and a suitable Proportion of Duties fit to be raised in each Colony, in such Manner as they severally like best, which may be considered, and it would be happy if accepted as an Equivalent in lieu of the Stamp-Duties ; and so might the Stamp-Act be made (by another Act) to stand re-pealed in favour of each particular Colony, upon and so soon as such Colony, one by one named, shall have passed an Act of Assembly, so to raise such Proportion by taxing themselves ; and if they should happily so far be indulged and confided in, as to be allowed to have such voluntary Duties, so raised, to be lodged as a Fund with the Governor and Council, &c. of each particular Colony or Government in America, but to be entirely at the Disposition of the Parliament of Great Britain and Dominions thereto belonging, in respect of the particular local Application thereof in America, for the End and Purpose of Protection and Defence, they may justly think themselves well off, and so may the important Dispute be happily terminated ; and afterwards it will be a further great Addition to the Strength, Peace, Concord, and durable Tranquillity of this extended Empire

Empire, if the Government should wisely think fit to cause the Americans, &c. to be equitably represented, by electing and sending Members to sit in Parliament, which would certainly be a very great Security to the Peace and Welfare of the Whole : The Numbers and Proportion as followeth, which is humbly submitted to public Inspection, in hopes of promoting the public Good, by

AMOR PATRIÆ.

	Inhabitants.	Proportion.
		£.
Canada and its Dependencies - -	90,000	3,000
Nova-Scotia and its Dependencies, } being young for the present - }	15,000	500
New Hampshire - - -	60,000	2,000
Massachusetts-Bay - - -	240,000	8,000
Connecticut - - - -	150,000	5,000
Rhode Island - - - -	45,000	1,500
New York - - - -	150,000	5,000
Jerseys - - - -	90,000	3,000
Pennsylvania - - - 210,000, and }	255,000	7,000
Lower Counties - - 45,000 }		1,500
Maryland - - - -	120,000	4,000
Virginia - - - -	180,000	6,000
North Carolina - - -	45,000	1,500
South Carolina - - -	105,000	3,500
Georgia, East and West Florida }		
Ba —a and Bermuda - }	30,000	1,000
Jamaica - - - -	150,000	5,000
Barbadoes - - - -	75,000	2,500
Antigua - - - -	45,000	1,500

St. Christophers, Nevis, and Mont-	}	45,000	1,500
ferat, Granada, Dominica, Tobago,			
and St. Vincent			

Total 1,890,000 £. 63,000

Total brought down £ 63,000

20

1,260,000

12

Divided by total Num- } 1,890,000 { 15,120,000 makes 8 d.
ber of Inhabitants } each *per Ann.*

Annual Sums, raised in Great Britain to pay the Interest of the public Debts, almost wholly borrowed to carry on several Wars, and near Half of it on Account of the *last, begun in America* :

Say 4,800,000

20

Divided by the Num- } 8,000,000 { 96,000,000 makes 12 s.
ber of Inhabitants } *per Ann. each.*

To the P R I N T E R.

AS the Spirit of Reformation appears to prevail in this opulent City in respect of Buildings, Streets, Pavements, &c. it would be very well if those who have it in their Power to effect so good a Work, would consider the great Danger, and scandalous Appearance of the old wooden Buildings in the North-east Part of the City, which escaped the

the dreadful Conflagration in the Year 1666. The late Fire in Bishopsgate-street is a Demonstration how rapid and dreadful a Fire soon becomes when once kindled among those old and mostly decay'd Houses, insomuch that the Lives and Properties of the Inhabitants thereof, &c. may be very justly considered as every Day being in Danger of Disolution, while such old Touch-wood Buildings are suffered to remain ; I therefore wish an Act of Parliament could be obtained, to compel all the Proprietors thereof, either to pull down and re-build them with Brick, or to sell to those who would do so, either at such Prices as they would fetch at public Auction or that should be fixt by a Jury.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
May 8, 1766.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

THE Method hitherto pursued of Loading with Taxes those Necessaries of Life which the Poor cannot do without, such as Beer, Soap, Candles, &c. &c. in order to raise Funds to pay the Interest of those immense Sums which have, during this Century, been borrowed to carry on several Wars, hath already exceeded the Bounds of Propriety, and the very high Duties and Excise laid on other Articles for the same Purposes, have, and doth, produce very great Evils to the trading Part of this Nation, by encouraging Smugling ; thereby inducing that unfair and dishonest Part of Tradesmen to take such Measure as do consequentially rob the honest and most valuable Part of the same Kind of Tradesmen, or Dealers, in the same Commodities, of the reasonable and just Profits which they might otherwise

otherwise get by their Dealings, for the Support of their Families ; which lamentable Circumstance is so flagrant a Mischief, as no honest sensible Man can behold without Regret ; and although the Nature and State of the public Finances may plead Necessity for the present, it would certainly be highly praise-worthy in such who may have it in their Power to apply a Remedy, to consider of some effectual Means of bringing about an Amendment in the Mode, Size and Manner of Taxation, as well as in the very important Concern of taking the wisest Means to reduce the National Debt before it be too late ; and as a private Person may sometimes, with Propriety, furnish a Hint to those in higher Stations and superior Abilities, which may by such be improved to great Advantage, the Author is disposed to contribute his Mite, and being of Opinion that the Landed Interest, as well as the poor laborious Manufacturer, &c. have bore an unreasonable Proportion of the Supplies for the Exigencies of Government, as compared with personal Estates, the Consequences whereof have been in respect of the Manufacturers, the Necessity of raising their Price of Labour ; and that being by far the chief Part of the Value of most, or all, of our valuable Manufactures, has much enhanced the Prices thereof ; whereby the French, our Competitors in Trade, have it in their Power to undersel us at Foreign Markets, which is a very great national Evil ; and in respect of the Land-Tax being continued so high, it has in every Place where it is levied on the full Rent a Tendency to advance Rents, and consequently to enhance the Price of all Provisions arising from the Lands, and from feeding on the Produce thereof ; he therefore maketh this Proposition, that it would be much more equitable and salutary to the common Good and Welfare of the whole Nation, if in lieu of the present Assessment, commonly called the Land-Tax, a general or universal Tax of only Two Shillings in the Pound,

Pound, in lieu of Four, should be fairly and in just Proportion, really raised on all the real Rents in the Nation, to be proved *bonna fide*, and also on all Pensions: And likewise on the Interest (at the lawful State thereof) of all personal Estates, (the Poor excepted) such as they are in Fact estimated; which personal Estates to be estimated and assessed by the Majority of the Vestry in every Parish, with conditional Liberty of Swearing off, to such as may happen to be aggrieved by over Rating: And it is probable such general Tax of Two Shillings in the Pound, impartially levied, would bring Abundance more to the Government than Four Shillings in the Pound in the present Form; and as far as regards the Funds or private Property therein, it would be good Policy also to include them, if any of them are not by A. P. exempt, because about one third Part of the Tax thereon would be paid by Persons not residing in these Dominions, who have had for an Age past the expensive Business of Transfers and Negotiation at the Bank, &c. done for nothing; that great Expence being wholly defrayed by the British Nation only so far, although not only all other Parts of the King's Dominions but Foreigners also reap the Benefit; and in respect of the Foreigners residing in foreign Countries who by annual Dividends to the Amount of near or about a Million and Half each Year do drain this Nation of its Vitals; Necessity seems to point out a reasonable Taxation after proper Notice given, not less than a Year; and although many Persons may cry out this would occasion them to sell out and thereby lower the Value of our Stocks, let such consider the great Benefit and saving which would accrue to this Nation by the Dividends being afterwards received annually by British Subjects and expended in the King's Dominions which are now expended in foreign Countries; many others may cry out that this would also prevent Loans to the Government on future Occasions,

Occasions, and to such I answer 'tis high Time they were prevented entirely both by Natives and Foreigners, and the Supplies raised within the Year ; the enormous Size of the national public Debt to an Amount never before known either in this or any other Nation under Heaven, may otherwise, in all human Probability, become the utter Ruin of the whole Kingdom.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

To the Printer of the Gazetteer.

ABundance of Differtations and Animadversions having been of late made about the Causes of the Dearness of Provisions, and percieving the Insufficiency of all the Arguments hitherto published, (so far as have come under my Notice) has induced me to publish my Sentiments for the Inspection, and I hope the Approbation of such whom it may concern, in doing their Part towards preventing further Mischief arising from the same Cause, which I believe to be chiefly owing to the *Breed of Sheep and Cattle being discouraged* and destroyed by the inclosing and making Arable such a vast Number of *Commons*, which before served for *Pasturage*, and for promoting the Breed of Sheep and Cattle by the Right of Common, that the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Towns and Villages had thereon ; which in such a vast Multitude of Cases, that obtain by Abundance of Acts of Parliament every Year, must necessarily have produced a very great Deficiency in the Breed, by preventing the neighbouring Inhabitants from making Use of such Common in that Way, in order to raise to themselves a Part of their Livelihood ; so that tho' it be granted
that

that the additional Inclosures may afterwards answer as well, for Fattening, they do certainly tend to prevent Increase; from which Consideration it would be well for every one who is disposed in future to procure any Act of Parliament for further Inclosures, to confine their Operations that Way, to common plowed or arable Fields only; and such Commons, Heaths, or Moors, which do not answer for Pasturage, or Breed of Sheep or Cattle.

The prevailing common Practice of inclosing Common Pastures has also a Tendency to rob this Nation of the Source of our great Growth of Whool, and consequently of our Woolen Manufactures, and to reduce this Nation to a Level with neighbouring Counties, where good Common Pastures do not so much abound, and therefore have not the main Staple of our Trade in so large Quantities as we have.

And while I am on this Subject I cannot well avoid mentioning the great national Advantages which on the other hand would arise from such a useless Place as Bagshot-heath, or such-like Places, being if possible improved and made fruitful; and altho' great Expence might attend it, it would nevertheless, on the whole Matter, procure a great national Advantage and increase of Property, as well as Provisions and Necessaries of Life by the Produce thereof. I therefore recommend the Consideration thereof to such as may have it in their Power to promote so great a Work, for the Good of their Country, and of the Poor in particular, by the increase of Provisions,

AMOR PATRIÆ:

*Gracechurch-Street,
June 16, 1766.*

To the Proprietors of East-India Stock.

AS much has been wrote and inserted in the Public Papers, *pro & con.* concerning our very valuable Acquisitions in the East-Indies, whereby the Company have happily obtained a secure Peace, and (as perpetual Tenants, on very easy Terms) the absolute Possession of the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, the former of which is immensely rich ; and as the Vague unsatisfactory Sentiments, or pretended Sentiments, of many have been published concerning the Mode of their expecting the Government to interfere in the Concerns of the Company, relative to these new Acquisitions, &c. it may not be improper, and seems requisite, in Point of impartial Justice, to undeceive such fellow Proprietors as may have become misinformed by Representations lately published ; some of which appears extremely absurd, and may have a Tendency to induce the unwary to set too light a Value on their Property, and thereby part with it too hastily, to their great Prejudice : And on the other hand, some Publications may have exaggerated the Value thereof, beyond any reasonable Estimation ; which may have an equal Tendency to prejudice Individuals, by causing them to buy at a Rate above the just Value. In order, therefore, the better to aim at avoiding great Errors on either Side of the Question, let it be remembered, that the Acquisitions made are wholly within the limits, entirely by Virtue, and clearly within the Meaning, of the Charters granted to the Company by Acts of Parliament ; which explicitly do allow and confirm their Right of making War and Peace with the Indian Princes, as may appear by the Charters of 1662, 1669, 1674, 1698, to the old and new Companies ; and of 1702, 1730, and that at present subsisting (which extends unto 25th of March, 1780, O. S.) to the United Company :

Company : Be it also remembered, that in 1698, the new Company lent the Government (in Consideration of their Charter) Two Millions, then at 8 per Cent, but by several Reductions since, it is now at 3 per Cent : And in the 6th of Queen Anne, the United Company lent the Government 1,200,000 more, without Interest, in Consideration of Privileges granted to them ; which two Sums, being together 3,200,000, is at present the proper capital Stock of the Company, whereon every Dividend is computed and made ; besides which, the Company has since lent the Government One Million, which constituted the Three per Cent East-India Annuities:

These Matters being premised, and as the Government may be reasonably supposed desirous of paying off the Residue of the unfunded Navy Debt, made transferrable at 4 per Cent, and as the Company have, during the late National War, received Favours from the Government, it seems probable, that the Company may now, on their valuable Acquisitions, be expected to do something toward returning the Compliment, and shewing their Gratitude, by lending the Government a Sum, suppose 800,000, without Interest, and in Consideration of having their Charter extended to the Year 1800, with being allowed to raise the Money by increasing their capital trading Stock with the like Sum of 800,000, which would make the whole capital trading Stock 4,000,000 ; which new increased capital of Four Millions would then require 600,000 to pay a Dividend of 15 per Cent, the first succeeding Year, and that being on a very moderate or low Computation only one half of the increased Income accruing from the Peace and Acquisitions, such Dividend seems to be the least that the Proprietors have a reasonable Right to expect. Then may the Remainder of the increased Income and Savings by the

Peace, (at least 600,000 more, annually, besides the Profits of the Trade) be applied to pay off the Company's Debts in Trade the first Year. And if such Dividend of 15 per Cent should be previously declared by the Company, which, it seems would be prudent, Subscriptions would probably be readily offered for such proposed 800,000, increase of capital Stock, at 300 per Cent; by which Means the Company would (over and above the said 800,000, so to be lent to Government) have the Sum of 1,600,000 thrown into their Hands, which may be fully sufficient to pay off all the Residue of their Debts in Trade, and on Shipping Accounts, and go a great Way towards, if not wholly sufficient for, the necessary and saving Scheme of building and employing their own Ships, instead of the hitherto Practice of Chartering on Freight; upon Terms very disadvantageous to the Company. And after a very few Years, (no War ensuing in the Interval) the latter mention'd half Part of the Company's additional Income, and Profits of Trade, may be also applied to increase the annual Dividend, so as to double the before-mentioned moderate Computation for the first succeeding Year. Now as these Matters do eventually Concern every Proprietor of East-India Stock, and as a General Court (and declared special) is advertised to be held at the East-India House, on the 24th Instant, every Proprietor, who on that Day shall have 500l. Stock (or more) will have a constitutional Right to be present, and hear for themselves the Advices from India read in open Court, and the relative Interest of the Company debated, whereby they may be more able to judge of the real Value of their Stock.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Sept. 4, 1766.*

To

To the Proprietors of East-India Stock.

AS a general Court of Proprietors is appointed to be held this Day at 11 o'Clock at Merchant Taylor's-hall in Threadneedle-street, and as it is expected Matters of very great Importance to the future Regulation of the Company's Servants, and the Profits of the Trade, being procured, to center where it ever ought to center among the Proprietors themselves, by encreased Dividends, in lieu of the Multitude of rapacious Servants in India, amassing monstrous Fortunes to themselves, in Preference to doing their Duty to their Masters and Constituents, whereby for a Series of Years the Proprietors have been obliged to put up with a Pittance of Six per Cent Dividend, whereas all Foreign East-India Companies have made both in Time of Peace and War Dividends, which have exceeded our's in an amazing Proportion, particularly the Dutch have for a Series of Years divided, on an Average, more than 20 per Cent, while the suffering, deluded and abused Proprietors of this otherwise very opulent Company, have been put off with about one third Part of those Profits which the Dutch have obtain'd, which enormous Difference may be in part accounted for, otherwise, but the greatest Part hath probably arisen from the selfish, rapacious Conduct of the Company's Servants in Violation of their Duty ; and as Lord Clive has been so happy as to conclude a firm and very advantageous Peace for the Company, beyond any Thing of the Kind ever known by this or any other Company ; and the same Wisdom and Penetration which plan'd and procured so safe and honourable a Peace, is now executing it self in the Operations of Lord Clive, and the select Committee, by using their utmost Endeavours to strike at the Root of this rapacious Conduct among the Servants,

and

and so work a Reformation ; I hope every Proprietor will see it his own reasonable Interest and that of his Family, in Proportion to the Stock, to support the Measures, so absolutely necessary to establish the much wanted Reformation and good Order, and a Discharge of Duty, and to inculcate among the Servants in India, on which the future Interest and Well-being of the Company, and Emolument of the Proprietors are so essentially concerned : So let us as unanimously as possible Vote for supporting Lord Clive and the Measures which he has so necessarily begun, by first removing the Rubbish in order to lay the Foundation of future Security, to the reasonable Interest of the Proprietors, whose Stock is employ'd to support the Company, and who are in Honour and Justice, as well as by Act of Parliament, and by their Character intitled to the Profits of the Trade, and the Income of the Company's Acquisitions.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Oct. 2, 1766.*

To the Earl of C.

T. C. Proposeth that Assessments on personal Estates, by the Majority of the Vestry in every Parish, may be done by Ballot, and the Medium determined by Scrutineers. This in order to preserve Peace and good Neighbourhood, and to prevent personal Ill-will, as also to prevent undue Influence, and thereby Partiality and partial Exemption;

T. C.

T. C. Is also of Opinion if Elections for Parliament-Men were determined by Ballot, it would do more towards preventing Bribery and Corruption than all other Methods put together ; and in such Case Scrutineers might be appointed at every Election, (to prevent false Swearing in respect of Qualifications) and at the Expence of the County, or the City, or Borough in Question, prosecute for Perjury any who being suspected, should upon the Scrutiny be found not duly qualified.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Nov. 16, 1766.

To the Proprietors of the East-India Stock.

AS the Mouth of Opposition to the reasonable Measures of Government has found Means to Influence others to propagate a Notion, that it is the cunningest Method the Company can take to stand still and do nothing, in hope of oblidging the Government to come to our Mighty-selves, to ask our Terms: I would cordially recommend to your more serious Consideration, if it would not be abundantly more consistent with the true Honour and real permanent Interest of the Company, to rather impower and require your Directors to proceed more constitutionally, and more dutifully, towards the Government, through whose Protection and Assistance, by the necessary Aid of the Navy and Military, the Company has not only been recently preserved, when on the Brink of Destruction, but have also through the same Influence been made Conquerers, and without which we could not have acquired our late immensely rich Acquisitions: Impower therefore your Directors

rectors to make a becoming and respectful Application to the Administration, (with some reasonable Terms of Accomodation) whereby to procure the several Advantages absolutely needful to the Well-being, Security and Prosperity of the Company, such as now proves needful to enlarge the Trade, Extention, and Confirmation of the Charter, with making sure of all further Assistance for the future Security of your Priviledges and Possessions, and so by going cordially hand in hand, not only your essential Interest, but your Honour also will be far better establish'd, than by any ingrateful, selfish or contumacious Conduct, which would probably have the very reverse Effect; and to prevent any Possibility of their being no Scheme ready prepared for such Purpose against the next Adjournment of the General Court on Wednesday the 31st December Inst: the following is here inserted, but submitted to any Amendment, or to give way to a better Plan, if any such should be offered. *

AN OLD PROPRIETOR.

December 29, 1766.

To the Earl of C.

Right Hon. Sir,

HAVING heretofore addressed you on some interesting Occasions in respect of the public Good and the Preservation of constitutional Security to this Nation, as the same might be effected by the unconstitutional Taxing of America, and Repeal of that unhappy Act, as also by a speculative Scheme in future, of procuring an Union on happy Terms between the Mother Country, who defends and protects the whole, and might by such Scheme, being
reduced

* The Plan being of a temporary Nature is not now, on this Publication, necessary to insert.

reduced to Practice, be supported by pecuniary Assistance in a constitutional Way, in some due Proportion from every Part of the King's Dominions who enjoy such Protection and Defence, and who have either a Parliament or an Assembly granted them for other internal Regulations, these remaining for such internal Purposes entire afterwards as at present, but in Matters of Protection and Defence, to be liable to no further Requisitions than mutually agreed on previous to such Union ; I say, having heretofore in some Measures agreeable to the above Hints presumed to essay Hints on such important Subjects, but with all due Deference to your superior Abilities, meaning them only as Hints for your Consideration ; so I now again, having for my Support the conscious Justification of at least *meaning well*, do presume to lay before your Lordship some of my Sentiments, on the Subject of a Mediation between the Government and the East-India Company, I can have no Doubt your Lordship's Intelligence may have furnish'd you with the Part I have honestly acted on this Occasion as a Proprietor ; and as my Profession cannot admit a Supposition of any Place or Pension being in view, from a Consideration I am disqualified by Principle as the Laws stand from enjoying such, and withal have sufficient without to make me satisfied ; and being also utterly void of any Notion of making Use of it as a *Hobby-Horse* for such Purposes, but conscious of an innate better Principle, I shall not fear to say, that unless a better Plan, and such as will procure a Majority of Hands at a General Court, should be offer'd to the Company, that 'twill be ultimately for the mutual Good and pecuniary Interest of both the Nation and the Company, to adopt some Plan not very different to the inclosed ; and although I am consistent of Opinion, that a temporary Rise of Stocks on an unstable Foundation, and

therefore liable to revert back to a low Price, might be hurtful by giving Foreigners Opportunity to sell out at high Prices, and buy in after at low Prices ; yet so soon as the Government and the Company have mutually agreed on Terms, judiciously calculated for the mutual Confidence, Benefit and Security of each other, the Stock cannot rise too soon to its proper Value, by Reason while it continues so low, it gives Foreigners too great an Opportunity of buying too great Pennyworths, which they may after sell out at an extravagant Profit, to the great Loss of this Nation : I therefore presume to give you this salutary and well-meant Hint ; and am,

With all dutiful Respect,

Your's, and my Country's hearty Well-wisher,

AMOR PATRIÆ:

*Gracechurch-Street,
Jan. 2, 1756.*

May it please your Majesty,

WITH humble Submission to your Majesty's Royal Benevolence, and from a conscious Motive of promoting, or endeavouring to promote, the mutual Felicity of both *Prince* and *People*, an American Merchant and loyal private Subject, presumes to communicate his dutiful Sentiments, respecting the present unhappy State of some of your Majesty's American Plantation Charters.

Memorandum

*follow
in
...*

Memorandum, *by an American Merchant.*

CHARTERS being, by the Constitution, granted by the King's Prerogative from a Motive of *Public Good*, so long as they are on Experience found to answer such *Main End*, they ought in Justice, to both Granter and Grantee, to be maintained *inviolable*; but when on long Experience, the Use and End of any such *Charter* becomes abused and inverted, so as to do *Evil* in lieu of *Good*, to the *whole collective Public*; the End for which 'twas *granted* being so *defeated*, it ought in Justice to the Good and Safety of the Whole, to be *annull'd*, by the *collective supreme Legislative Power*, for the same Reason 'twas granted by the King, viz. the *Public Good*. *Salus Populi Suprema est Lex*. This Doctrine applied to the *Massachusetts-Bay* will make it needful, that at the same Time, or immediately after, *another Charter*, more *constitutional*, more *wholsome*, and *less liable to Abuse*, should be sent them.

I humbly presume also to inclose Copies of some other of my late Manuscript and Printed Performances, relative the same very important Subject, in humble Confidence my Motive may justify the Attempt, or at least induce your Candour and Forgiveness,

T. C.

To the Printer of the Gazetteer.

THE high Price of Corn having, on several Occasions of Scarcity, been of late Years the Subject of Abundance of Altercations and Conversation, respecting the Cause

or Causes thereof, and among many others, the Bounty on Corn having been pro and con, through a Variety of Reasons, alledged as both the Occasion of Plenty, by increase of Tillage, and also of Scarcity, by encouraging Exportation, when it should be stopped in Relief of the Poor ; and as Abundance of Difficulties and Distresses have fallen out in the Consequences to the Government, and to the Public, insomuch, that in the Course of a few Years there has been a Necessity of many parliamentary Enquires, Embargoes, Prohibitions, &c. distressing Trade and causing much Uneasiness, through manifold Perplexities ; to remedy all which, I would, for the Good of the whole concern'd, propose an Expedient to prevent a Repetition of such like unhappy Dilemmas in future, which cannot so effectually be done any other Way as by a conditional Bounty to rise and fall occasionally, without the Fatigue and uncertainty of special Acts of Parliament to be procured and made for every Occasion, and which cannot, in the Recess of Parliament, be procured until considerable Injuries become sustained for Want of timely Provision in former Acts of Parliament. Suppose, then, that an Act was to be procured to allow a Bounty of 6s. per Quarter on Wheat, when, by Plenty, or a Glut thereof, the Price be reduced to, or under 32s. per Quarter, in any given Port, or the nearest Market thereto, and of 4s. per Quarter when above 32s. and below 40s. and 2s. per Quarter when at 40s. and upwards, not exceeding 48s. and when above 48s. the Bounty to cease entirely ; and when at 56s. to allow free Importation from America only for six Months after the Price is got up, or continued at or above that Price in any Port in Question, or the nearest Markets thereto, and that in fair open Markets, two Market-days succeeding each other.

If at State Barometer of this Kind, for the Bounty on Weat, and other Grain in Proportion, had been established ten years ago, what Abundance of Embargoes, Prohibitions, Difficulties and Distresses might have been happily saved ; and as what has been may be again, if not fortunately prevented, and being of Opinion a Scheme of this Nature would be well adapted for the mutual Benefit of the whole, the Government, the public, and the poor, I therefore do recommend it in Preference to the present Manner of granting the Bounty.

But with this proviso, if the Government should be of Opinion, that the Bounties thus proposed should be too high to consist with the public Good, in such Case 4s. may be substituted in lieu of 6s. when the Price of Weat is at or under 32s. and 2s. in lieu of 4s. when the Price of Weat is betwixt that and 40s. on it rising above that Price, the Bounty to cease entirely ; and when the Price rises above 48s. to allow the free Importation from America in Manner aforesaid ; the former Propositions may most promote the landed Interest, but the latter the Relief of the Poor, who should ever be the Object of our Attention and Benevolence, when the Price of Bread is in Question, for which Reason I do most heartily recommend the latter.

T. C.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Jan. 10, 1767.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

HAVING just now been looking over the Bill of Mortality for the last Year, I cannot avoid being sorrowfully effected on Account of the amazing Number of Deaths
under

under two Years of Age, being no less than 8035 in the Compass of one Year; which it appears to me on all Considerations, could not have happened, if a great Number were not lost by Causes of a criminal Nature, such as being neglected or starved, by those who should, from a Principal of Duty, (as well as from tender Feelings of Compassion for their own Flesh and Blood) have dreaded the Thoughts of such enormous Crimes, and who deserve the utmost Reproach, Infamy, and Punishment; and it is also much to be feared that no small Number have received their Death Wounds in the critical Minute of being ushered into this wicked World, by shameless and unskilful Boys, wickedly usurping the Business of experienced, good old Women; whose proper Business it has, from the Creation, been justly deemed; and who, from Experience, and their own Feelings, must be much more capable of administering suitable Relief to Women in Labour than inexperienced, blundering Boys can possibly be, in my Estimation. This is a Matter of so important Concern as to become the Duty of the Government to enquire into, and to apply some suitable Remedy;

T. C.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Feb. 4, 1767.*

P. S. The Remedy the Author of the above would propose, if a better should not be thought of is, that none should be premitted by Law to practise the important Business of Man-midwifery, under thirty Years of Age, nor without having first obtained a proper Licence from the Company of Surgeons, at their Hall in the Old-Bailey for that Purpose,

Gazetteer,

By Another A U T H O R.

To the Printer of the Morning Chronicle.

S I R,

AMONG the many ill Consequences, which attend the present party Divisions in this Country, I know of none more pernicious than that Neglect of Truth, and Love of Falsehood, which they have introduced among all Ranks of People, who are led through Vanity, Caprice, or well-meant Mistake, to profess themselves Partizans of the one Side or other, for myself, without pretending to take Part with either, I must confess that in the Article of Lying, repeatedly and grossly, the popular Party appears to me to be much the greatest Offenders, they are continually raising some Falsehood or other, which at the very Time they broach it, they know to be such, and seem to think it a praise-worthy Principle in the Cause of Liberty, to stick at nothing they can invent, in order to blacken, and confound, those whom they suppose Enemies of it; yet surely the Love of *Truth*, is naturally implanted in the Breast of every Man, and may be properly said to be the Image of God, planted thereby the *Divinity* himself.

This Consideration methinks should be sufficient to warm a noble Heart, to the cherishing of that Affection, which is certainly brought with it into the World, and to raise the Mind to a *philosophic Gallantry*, equally commendable in all Stations; in short, without an Attachment to *Truth*, there can be no *Virtue* in the *World*, and Men of Rank and Capacity, whose Minds are cold and indifferent to it, are the most detestable, and (to an honest Man) the most *contemptible Creatures* living.

Good Government may be plausibly undermined, but cannot be supported by propogating Errors of any Kind;
indeed

indeed disingenuous Politicks are not only unnecessary, but generally detrimental to their pretended Purposes, and are undoubted Proofs of the Corruption of those that Father them; let *Truth* then remain *sacred*, and *inviolable*, be the Consequence what it will, since nothing but Confusion, can spring from Falsehood, in the End. Was I to collect the warm Expressions and rapturous Sentences, scattered through the Writings of the antient Philosophers, in praise of *Truth*, I could furnish out an Essay in your Paper, that might justly put Numbers of People to the Blush; and (which is not astonishing) they who stand most in Need of being so reprimanded, are the least ignorant of those Writings, I speak not to the Vulgar, who are equally prone to follow any prevailing Example or Opinion, good or bad, but to Men whose Education and natural Endowments leave them inexcusable.

To conclude Mr. Woodfall, the lowest Degeneracy a Man can sink into, is knowingly and deliberately to inculcate Error, or obstruct the Progress of *Truth*; it is putting People's Eyes out, in order to make them fall foul of one another in the dark; the Character is *profligate*, and *abandoned*, no Considerations upon Earth, can mitigate the Heinousness of the *Crime*, let the free and gallant Spirit then proceed upon this Maxim, that it is glorious to stand by an Enemy in the *Truth*, and inglorious to support a Friend in a *Falsehood*.

I am your Old Correspondent,
A LONDON CURATE.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger:

PRAY suffer me through the Channel of your useful Paper, to put those honest Fellows the Hackney Coachmen of this City in Mind of trying the Experiment of a
Hackney-

Hackney-Stage from the Royal-Exchange to New Palace-Yard, during the *Sittings* of *Parliament* and *Term-Time*, at 8 d. - or 9 d. for each Passenger when full, or a Shilling each when two or three only goes off.

T. C.

Gracechurch-Street,
Feb. 5, 1767.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

THE rapid Population of our American Colonies having of late attracted the general Observation of Mankind in Europe, many have enlarg'd on the manifold Benefits accruing from thence to the Mother Country, which has hitherto in great Measure proved true ; and so far, as regards Foreigners emigrating from foreign Countries immediately there, without having first settled here, 'tis an undoubted Truth, that 'tis profitable and sound Policy to encourage it for the Good of the whole ; but so far, as it concerns the Inhabitants of *Old England* in particular, 'tis a very disputable Case, if it may not rather be considered with Propriety that every Subject emigrating from the Mother Country (who as Matters have hitherto stood, has and does bear the Expence of protecting and defending the whole) to America, by so lessening the Number of the Burthen-Bearers, and increasing the Number of those Exempt, does thereby cause the Scale of Justice to preponderate too much in Favour of the Exempt, and in Prejudice to the old Burthen-Bearers of good *Old England*, who have so far at the utmost Peril of all that is dear to her, fought the Battles of all the King's Dominions, or paid nearly the whole Expence thereof, altho' her Inhabitants are very little, if any,

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more

more than one half of the whole in the King's Dominions so defended ; this being the Case, every deserving Mind must (the Public Debt of £ 130,000,000 in Consequence considered) see the Propriety of the Mother Country effectually considering her future Safety in Time, and before it be too late:† Many important Points are necessary to be seriously considered, and put in Practice, such as the Reducing of the Public Debt, by lowering the Interest to 4 per Cent ; and an happy Union of all the principle Parts of the King's Dominions, by a just and salutary Representation in one Parliament ; until which is done, 'twill be in an especial Manner of some Importance, to prevent Depopulation of the Mother Country, by Emigration ; and to encourage Population, by encouraging Marriage and discouraging Cælibacy, the Prevalent Vice of this Age, ruinous to the State, inconsistent with the Order of Providence, and the Duty of such mortal, but rational Beings, who have been and are blessed by Providence with the necessary Means of communicating Happiness to the fair and counter Part of the Creation, otherwise left destitute, and of transmitting under Providence Happiness to Futurity, and that perhaps through a Succession of Ages to come ; and this in lieu of taking unjustifiable Methods to palliate a comfortless Life, and pursuing Measures opposite to the Dictates of Conscience, that arise at Periods of calm Composure.

I have also considered, that it may be one good Step towards encouraging Marriage, if all unmarried Men of 25 Years and upwards were to be taxed in Proportion to their Estates, as the same may be adjudged by the Vestry, or the Majority of them in every Parish, perhaps Six-pence in the Pound on every Man's Income, being under Fifty Pounds per Year, and One Shilling in the Pound on all above ; Part of which to be apply'd to extend the Magdalen

dalen and Asylum Charities, or some public Institution of such Kind, and the rest to be apply'd to the sinking Fund, in Aid of the Public. Some are of Opinion single Women should be taxed also, but as Custom and the Delicacy of the Sex seem to forbid Advances on their Parts, I think that would be cruel, I would therefore propose no other Punishment to them then that they should without Fee, or Salary, be appointed Collectors of this new Tax, by which Means a Communication might be opened between those useless Parts of the Creation, old Batchelors and their Counter Parts; which might in many Cases become further Conducive to the Public Good, and their own Felicity by a happy Coalition, well adapted to the main End in Question.

A M O R P A T R I Æ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Feb. 12, 1767.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger:

“ AT an Entertainment a few Days since at the West-
“ end of the Town, twenty-seven Pounds of Beef, three
“ Hams, and eighteen Fowls, were stewed down to make
“ Soup.”

Public Advertiser, March 3, 1767.

MANY Dissertations have appeared in the public Papers on the supposed Causes of the advanced Prices of Provisions; such as engrossing Farms, inclosing of Commons, &c. &c. but none appear therein to have duly considered the Consequences of sixty or seventy Millions of newly-created, imaginary Wealth, which for the Time being, while

public Credit continues unshaken, answer the End among Individuals of an encrease of real Wealth to them, thereby empowering them to expend much more annually, than they could do before the late ideal increase of Capital, by Means of the late War, and increased Government Securities, in Consequence ; all which for the present having the Effect of Paper Currency or other ideal Value, substituted as real, and passing as Medium of Value, by which Means Pride and Ambition has a much larger Field for Luxury and other Extravagance, an Instance of which the Reader may see at the head of this Letter, instead of a Motto, and the main End of this being to remind those luxurious Readers, of their essential Duty in having more Regard to their Habit of Health which becomes Plethoric, and in Consequence the Constitution enervated by Excess ; and also to consider, how much their Extravagance and luxurious Feasts do also tend to make Provisions dear ; thereby distressing the Poor without Mercy, and perhaps in many Instances becoming the Cause of their being starved to Death. I would, therefore, seriously and earnestly recommend to every luxurious Provider and Eater, to act more consistent with the Dignity of a rational Being, whom the all-wise Creator has endowed with the noble Principle of Reason for their Government, and for much better Purposes than to be so abused in the Exercise of their Faculties.

T. C.

*Gracechurch-Street,
March 4, 1767.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

PERMIT me, through the Channel of your communicative Paper, to recommend to the very serious Consideration of the Landed Interest in general, of how very
great

great Importance and Advantage it would be to the Nation in general, as well as to Individuals, to adopt the beneficial Plan of an impartial and equal Land-Tax throughout the Kingdom ; a Measure dictated by the first Principle of Justice in the Administration of Government, and become absolutely requisite for the true Interest of the whole. What if some Countries and Districts have by an unfair giving in the Valuation originally, been through some Generations become exempt from their reasonable Proportion of the public Taxes towards the Support of Government, should not the Descendants of such unfair Practitioners be more than willing, after an Age of unfair Savings, cheerfully to forego any longer taking unjust Advantage thereof ; as, it may not be improperly considered, the withholding of their just Part or Proportion towards their own Protection is, and if many Estates have for a long Time enjoyed a very partial Exemption, by Means of Improvements in Buildings erected within the Districts wherein they are situated, should not the Owners, who have been so long assessed so extremely below the real Value of their Estates, be now so just and grateful to Government, and to their Fellow Subjects, as to cheerfully acquiesce in being honestly assessed in future, on an Equality with the general Landed Interest, in Proportion to their real Rents or Value ; as it must appear to the impartial, no more than what Honour makes requisite ; It might possibly bear full hard on the new erected Buildings about this Metropolis ; and some Considerations might be justly had thereof, by Way of making the Regulation easy to them ; and it might also be good Policy, in order to encourage Improvements, that all new-erected Houses on Ground not before built on, should be exempt for the three first Years after covered in. Some few new Purchasers might also be small Sufferers ; but it is not possible to make any universal Regulation for the Public Good, but

but thereby some Individuals may be Sufferers; and such being the Case, they should for the Public Good be content: So would this important Affair be no longer delayed, which would give great weight to Public Credit, which is, in great Measure, the very vital Strength of this Kingdom, and the constant Envy of her Enemies.

T. C.

*Gracechurch-Street,
March 14, 1767.*

P. S. 'Tis notorious to those who have acquired sufficient Information, that a Multitude of Buildings even within the Bills of Mortality and near the same, do now pay, and have long paid fewer Pence in the Pound on their real Rent or Value, than Houses in the principal Parts of the City do pay Shillings in the Pound, on the same Rent or Value; so that a great many of the King's Subjects situate in the Out-parts of this Metropolis do not pay so much as one twelfth Part of the Proportion; which is, as Things now are, very unrighteously imposed on the Citizens; and it may be readily proved also, that in many Countries the Land, as well as Houses, do not pay so much as a quarter Part of the Proportion which other Countries and Districts to pay.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

GOING along the Strand the other Day I was much pleased with the agreeable Alteration made in that Street, by the new Pavement and taking down the Signs, the Street being thereby made Abundance more elegant
and

and convenient; and the Objection that is made against the Difficulty of Houses and Shops being not so readily found out, may very easily be remov'd by every House having a Number fix'd up or painted in the Front, beginning on the South-side at Temple Bar and continued Numerical to Charing-cross, and then continu'd back from thence on the North-side, as far as the Signs are taken down: This would be to Strangers and Passengers a much readier and better Way of directing the Enquirer than any Sign can be. The Act should have made this Provision, but its not too late to be remedied.

PERAMBULATOR.

A Copy of a Letter to a Gentleman in America.

London, Oct. 20, 1768.

“ Esteemed Friend,

“ I Have now (altho' late) to acknowledge the Receipt of
 “ your kind Favour of the 20th of November last,
 “ wherein your Candour and Sensibility are to me sufficiently
 “ evident. I have long clearly perceived how unpopular
 “ the Notion of an Union between Great Britain and her
 “ Colonies, has appeared in the several Northern Planta-
 “ tions; and give me Leave to relate, that Perception, and
 “ the dreadful probable Consequences of such mistaken
 “ Apprehensions among you, have often very sorrowful-
 “ ly filled my Mind with an Anxiety which no Language
 “ can describe to the full.—Consider in Time, ye Def-
 “ cendants of British Parents! how utterley in vain must
 “ be the Expectations of such who deceive themselves by
 “ thinking the Parliament of these Kingdoms will go on
 (now

“ (now the Provinces are arrived at considerable Maturity)
 “ protecting with our mighty and extremely expensive Na-
 “ vy. &c. without drawing from you some Part of the Ex-
 “ pence in some determined, legal, fixed Method, without
 “ further depending on the extremely precarious hitherto
 “ practiced Method of requisitory Letters, adapted to the
 “ infant State of the Colonies, many of which at first, and
 “ for a long Time, continually wanted Aids from hence,
 “ and some have had it to great Extent: So was Tax-
 “ ation, so far, much out of Question ; but the flourishing
 “ State of the Colonies, to which the last extremely expen-
 “ sive War has advanced them, although, at the same
 “ Time, this Country hath by the same War been invol-
 “ ved, and now groans under, an immense Load of public
 “ Debts, near or about eighty Millions whereof have been
 “ contracted by Means of, and to carry on that War, which
 “ was commenced in America, for the Protection thereof,
 “ so does and will the Parliament think it the indispensable
 “ Duty of the Colonies to co-operate in some salutary Me-
 “ thod, to be firmly fixed on and determined by mutual
 “ Consent, whereby they may in future contribute a rea-
 “ sonable Proportion towards their own Protection, who
 “ without the Aid and Influence of the British Navy would
 “ be soon over-run by the maritime Powers of Europe, and
 “ divided among them.

“ On the other Hand, those among you who are too fan-
 “ guine in the dangerous and vain Expectations of becoming
 “ independent, (and such there certainly are among you)
 “ should, before it is too late, consider the great Absur-
 “ dity of supposing that such a Circumstance can ever hap-
 “ pen, without a long and *dreadful Struggle*, which, in all
 “ human Probability, may be attended with the direful Ef-
 “ fect of most of the maritime and River-Port Cities and
 Places

" Places being laid in Affes, as must soon be the Case, if
 " our Navy were to exert their Force against them. I
 " therefore once more earnestly exhort your Countrymen
 " to think in Time of making some well-concerted Propo-
 " sitions adapted to the glorious and beneficent Purpose of
 " preserving Peace, by voluntarily agreeing to a fixed, legal
 " Way of contributing to your own Preservation; and lest
 " you should not be able to find out a better, (and that I
 " am persuaded, cannot be) I have resumed the arduous,
 " but pleasing Task of sketching out further proposed Out-
 " lines for a happy and mutual beneficent Union: If I had
 " not (from your lively Description of the great mutual
 " Benefits likely to arise from such Union) been led to
 " think very favourably of your mental Capacity and Good-
 " ness of Heart, I should have spared myself from this vo-
 " luntary Service; but clearly perceiving the Qualifications
 " with which an all-gracious Providence hath blessed you,
 " I once more indulge the Hope that you may again direct
 " your Pen in the mutual Service of this and your Coun-
 " try. You will excuse my placing *this* first, while I am
 " writing to an Inhabitant of *your's*, and that in Confi-
 " deration if your Protector *falls*, you must *fall* also; and
 " the Tax-Masters of France would have much less Regard
 " to your constitutional Right, than your Parent Country
 " in the worst of Times ever had. The inclosed Propo-
 " sitions, &c. have been a few Days since communicated to
 " the King and Ministry, as also the Privy Council here,---
 " and the Effect we must leave for the present.

" I am, very respectfully,

" Your well-wishing Friend,

" And a Lover of Peace,

" THOMAS CROWLEY."

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" P. S.

Propositions P 77 inclosed

“ P. S. I recommend the Colonists to consider that their
 “ Plea of using British Manufactures is only valid as it re-
 “ lates to Foreigners among you, since the English, Scotch,
 “ and Irish among you, and their Descendants, would
 “ have also used them, if they had continued here without
 “ emigrating, and would here have also bore their Propor-
 “ tion of Taxes towards Protection and Defence.

“ IDEM,

“ Please to let this be inserted in your Gazette.”

TO ADMINISTRATION.

May it please,

THE revolting Province having now pulled off Disguise,
 (except what relates to their pretended Expectation of a
 French War) I hope the Ministry will be wise enough to
 have them properly restrained. It is frequently found that
 sound Policy goes beyond Strength exclusively considered;
 as many Sloops of War and 20 Gun Ships, as are Q. S.
 to stop-up all their own Ports, and those from whom they
 may be supplied with Ammunition, &c. together with the
 necessary Measure of such like Prevention, by suitable Em-
 bargoes, &c. in Great Britain and Ireland, will be a much
 cheaper and better Method of reducing them to their Duty,
 than Military Land Expeditions only, without these Precau-
 tions: I hope you are sufficiently informed of their
 Strength, which is not despicable, their Male Inhabitants
 from 16 to 60, being trained as Militia, are in the Province
 of Massachusetts about 80,000, and exercised once a Quar-
 ter; the other three Provinces of New-England, jointly,
 contain

contain of Male Inhabitants, between the Ages of 16 and 60, upwards of 130,000, and are also trained to Arms. I would willingly hope New York will not join; be that as it will, be assured if Hostilities should be once commenced, the Strength of the four New England Provinces only will be formidable; and if effectual Measures are not expeditiously taken to reduce them to Reason, and consequently to their Duty, and also of preventing the Occasion in future, they will have a *long and dreadful Struggle for Independance*: Ergo, now or never is the Time to lay the Foundation of better mutual Confidence and Security, than has ever yet been established, since the Commencement of Colonization in America, and if this Occasion be neglected, it will be too late afterwards: But remember as a soft Answer turns away Wrath in private Life, so may Plenipotentiaries sent, with the Terms of Accommodation, (accompanying the Appearance of irresistible Force) lay the happy Foundation of mutual Peace and Security:

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Nov. 1, 1768.

The Counsels of Divine Wisdom.

My beloved Children,

THE Depravity and Calamities of the Times have been the Subject of the just Complaint and pathetic Declamation of many of your most distinguished Writers; but how little Benefit has arisen from those Complaints and Declamations, let Experience determine; the same Depravity and the same Calamities still exist with little or no Dimi-

nition, and that notwithstanding the Addition of my tender Admonitions to you thereupon.

To what can all this be owing? to Abilities unequal to the Task of reforming Mankind, or to any Insensibility amongst all Orders of Men, whose Natures, by long Habit, are so assimilated to the Evil of their Ways, that their Hearts are as dead to all Sense of Goodness as their Minds are shut against the Conviction of Truth? This, it is to be feared, is too much the State of your Nation, as well as the general State of human Nature. From the Court to the Cottage, all seem to be swallowed up in the Lust of Riches, or in a dissipated Life of sensual Pleasure; and you are therefore deaf to the Voice of the Charmer, whom he never so wisely.

In this worse than Egyptian Bondage and Darkeness, what Method is to be pursued? or what Medicine prescribed adequate to your Disease? that the Mind may assert and regain that Heaven-born Freedom and Love of Truth and Virtue which is it's native Birthright, and to which it aspires in the Dawn of uncorrupted Youth, before it has been tutor'd in the Schools of worldly Wisdom, and practiced in Pride, Self-exaltation, boundless Ambition, deep Dissimulation, insatiable Avarice and wanton Luxury, which know no Bounds and hear no Counsel.

Tho' every Thing has been said that can possibly be urged by Way of moral Argument, to set forth the Beauty of Virtue and the Deformity of Vice, yet it may be judged from the present Face of Things, it has been only treated as the Amusement of an idle Hour; and whilst powerful Self-interest and unsubdued Passions stand in Opposition to Virtue, it must ever appear as an empty Name, and must always fall a Sacrifice unless moral Arguments could effect

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an Impossibility, transform Mens Natures, and make them act from a Sense of Duty and Conscience, in a full Persuasion that an omniscient God will bring them into Judgment for every Action that is contrary to the Dictates of an honest and upright Heart, to the Divine Precepts of the Gospel, and to that Purity and Holiness which the righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth requires of all before they can enjoy the Favour of his Countenance here, or partake of eternal Happiness hereafter.

Now there is but one Thing in the Power of Man that can enable you to act from those ennobling Principles so suitable to the Dignity of an immortal Spirit, and that is to prostrate yourselves before the living God, and with your whole Heart intreat him that he would pardon your manifold Sins and Iniquities, and descend into your Souls with the healing Influence of his Light and holy Spirit, destroying all the Workings of Evil within you, filling you with an awful Sense of his divine Majesty, and giving you that universal Love which may animate you to endeavour to make every Creature happy as you wish to be made happy yourselves.---This is the natural Means also of averting those heavy Judgments from falling upon your Land, which have made their awful Visitations within these few Years in so many various and distant Parts of the Earth, to awaken a guilty World to a Sense of their Sin and Misery, and to fulfil the unsearchable wise Ends of Providence. This I say is the natural Means of averting the threatened Judgments of God, as well as fulfilling in you that Transformation of Nature and universal Philanthropy, which nothing but the Life of God in the Soul of Man can effect ; and which was the Spirit of that first Church of Jerusalem, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, which was animated by the same Divine Love that reigns in Heaven, “ in which the Multi-
 “ tude

"tude of them that believed were of one Heart and one
 "Soul: Neither said any of them, that ought of the
 "Things which he possessed was his own; but they had all
 "Things common, and great Grace was upon them all."
 And here we may see, as in a Glass clearly, how greatly
 all Churches professing Gospel are fallen from that Good-
 ness of Life which is the End of Religion and the Perfec-
 tion of your Nature. For this universal Love, which
 shewed itself in a free Communion of Goods, and Affections
 flowing from a real Birth of Divine Love in the Soul, was
 never to be confined to the apostolical Ages, but was to
 diffuse itself and it's Blessings thro' every succeeding Age of
 the World: And till Christian Nations are in some Mea-
 sure restored to this State of Love and Goodness, from that
 dark Night of Apostacy they are now fallen into, it is a vain
 Pretence, a mere Mockery to assume the sacred Name of
 Christians: For pure and vital Christianity aims at nothing
 else but the Exaltation of human Nature to it's utmost
 Perfection, making it by a gradual Process all Holy and
 Divine. And there is a Seed of Heaven, a Spark of Di-
 vine Fire, that lies shut up in the Heart of every Son of fallen
 Man, however enslaved by the Lust of the Flesh, the Lust
 of the Eye, and the Pride of Life, that must be awakened
 by the Spirit of the living God to a Resurrection and New-
 ness of Life, before he can be redeemed from the Bondage
 of his Sins; and nothing can do this on his Part, but the
 yielding himself up to that Wisdom whose Operations, like
 a Refiner's Fire, will purify the selfish corrupted Passions
 from the Heart of every Son of Man.

What is the Reason of the universal Complaint, that a
 Nation once so celebrated, now wants Strength, Stability
 and Dignity in her Councils, Wisdom in her Senators, In-
 tegrity in her Statesmen, Love of her Country in her
 Patriots

Patriots, and apostolical Holiness in her dignified Clergy; whose Lives ought to be adorned with primitive Simplicity of Manners, extensive Charity, together with a faithful zealous Discharge of the pastoral Duty, instead of wasting the precious Moments of Life in selfish, mean, and abject Applications after more and more of Court Performers? Why do the Rich accuse the Poor with being Headstrong, ungovernable and dissolute; and the Poor the Rich with Want of common Humanity, and with an utter Insensibility to importunate Calls of Hunger, Thirst and Nakedness, and all this with so much Truth and Justice on both Sides? It is because the Love of God and Man no longer rules in your Hearts; it is because that Wisdom which crieth in your Streets, and which is the Breath of the Power of God and a pure Influence flowing from the Glory of the Almighty; and which in all Ages entering into holy Souls, maketh them the Friends of God, full of Mercy, pure peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated without Partiality and without Hypocrisy, has been almost rejected by all; and therefore, my beloved Children are Strangers to that Power of redeeming Love which makes them the Sons of Divine Wisdom, and the Compassionate Children of their heavenly Father, whose tender Mercies are over all his Works. You are swallowed up in the sordid Love of yourselves, and driven about in a continual Strife of corrupt and blind Passions, doing and undoing you know not what or why. The Prince of the Power of the Air, the God of this World, hath taken strong Possession of Mens Souls, and nothing can cast him out but Wisdom, that divine Monitor which knocks at every Man's Heart and informs him that he ought to be better than he is. This is the Divinity within you, which if loved and revered as such, will counteract and subdue all the dark Workings of Evil in your Hearts, that impel you with a blind Infatuation

tion to every Thing that is destructive of your own true Peace and the Happiness of Society. Nothing short of this can deliver or redeem you from every refined as well as grosser Vice, that like a Deluge has overflowed your Land, and which Time and Habit have so grafted into your Natures as to enslave the whole Man, Spirit, Soul and Body, and lead it captive to it's Will : And you seem to have become so enamour'd with your base Servitude, as to be ready to calumniate, persecute and destroy any one, who with great Benevolence points out the only Means of delivering you from the worst and most shameful Slavery, that of your undisciplined Lusts and Passions.

D. W.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

Amantium Iræ amoris redintegratio est.

S I R,

AS most old Adages are by Experience discovered to have their Foundation in Truth, so I am not without Hope the important Motto, at the Head of this Letter, may be happily verified at the ensuing extremely critical and very important Crisis, in respect of the Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies, as also between the Government and the East-India Company.

It evidently appears these are Matters of the greatest Importance to the well-being of the King's Dominions, and upon their being happily compromised, or the contrary, will in a great Measure depend whether these Nations shall by Union be a happy and flourishing People, or by Division

sion dwindle into Ruin and Contempt. Nothing is more clear to me, than that honourable Peace and Union will strengthen and preserve the whole Realm ; and on the contrary, dishonourable Hostilities, Division and Separation, would, if unhappily put to the Trial, consequentially weaken and destroy the very Vitals of Government and the Constitution ; so should every one, in whom there is any Degree of suitable Powers and Abilities, exert their utmost Endeavours to contribute their Mite towards bringing about the very desirable and glorious Event of a happy Compromise in both Cases, by firm and durable Union, replete with Marks of a generous, noble and beneficent Security to the Whole, and in particular conveying mutual and reciprocal Benefits and Advantages to each, Great Britain, America and Ireland, the greatest of which will be, in itself and in it's Consequences, perpetual Security from that most dreadful of all national Miseries, *falling out among ourselves*, which in all Probability would otherwise ensue ; whereas by Union, Confidence and Harmony, and by mutually advancing each other's Interest, the Strength and Stability of the Whole may be so far happily increased, as that 'twill not be in the Power of all the Nations on Earth to crush or much hurt any Part of these Dominions, when Union shall grant Aids from the Whole for the Protection and Defence of the Whole.

So wisheth, so prayeth,

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
Nov. 20, 1768.

*To the Printer of the Public Ledger.**Omnia vincunt Amor et Veritas.*

THE Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies, being of the utmost Consequence to the Welfare of both, it is much to be desired, that every one before he speaks or writes about it, would thoroughly consider the dangerous Consequences to each, which a false Step may make in this very important Affair ; for if the Mother Country should unhappily raise Taxes by forcible Means on the Colonies, it is to be feared that much Harm may ensue, tho' not immediately ; the Maxim is incontrovertable, *no Representation, no Taxation*. So in Point of Equity a Right of Representation must either be granted to the Colonies, or else they must necessarily be exempt from Taxes, imposed without their Concurrence or Co-operation, it would therefore be good Policy to grant them a Representation, which they will all, one after another, infallibly find it their Interest to accept, if granted on generous Terms, bounding *their Rights*, and also bounding the *Size and Mode of Taxation*. On the other Side, if from Hopes of totally getting rid of Taxation by Parliament, the Colonists should bellow out the Impracticability of a Representation, or the Danger of being imposed on after Representation takes place, it is much to be desired, that this may be imputed to the Source from whence it evidently arises, and will be justly considered as an important Effort, to revive a forlorn Hope of their becoming excused from both Representation and Taxation, which to me appears very unreasonable, and also very unsafe in the Consequence even to themselves, if we only look forward with a rational Prospect to the Chance of succeeding Governments, and suc-

ceeding

ceeding Ministers, taking them as they may rise. Upon the Whole, it will be abundantly for their Welfare, to have their Rights firmly determined and fixed by Union and Representation now, while we are blessed with a gracious and benevolent Monarch, who appears to have the mutual Interest of all his Subjects at Heart.

A Lover of Peace, and also of Justice,

A M O R P A T R I Æ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Nov. 20, 1768.*

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

TIS an old Saying, None are so blind as they who will not see; this I have to my great Sorrow too often woefully found verified. both by the tenacious blind Bigots of ir-religious Party of several religious Systems, and also by those who are equally tenacious of arbitrary Principles, respecting the Civil Rights of Mankind; I am, with their Leave, to afford them some good Eye-Slave, and am perfectly persuaded with the clearest Evidence, that right Reason and Truth will ever stand in Opposition to their unhappy Principles; and I am also not without Hope, will in Time beat down and demolish their Fabrick of mean and ungenerous Self-Love, and Thirst of unreasonable Power over the Conscience and Property of their Fellow Creatures and Fellow Subjects.

It is no small Pleasure to the generous Mind, to learn by reading the concurring Sentiments of the most eminent (in the School of Wisdom and Justice) who have long rested

from their Labours on this terrestrial Mansion, and who have, I doubt not, long been in the Fruition of happy Rewards for their honest Endeavours while here, to do Good to their Fellow Creatures, from a divine Principle of Duty implanted in the Soul by the all-wise God, for such benevolent and beneficent Purpose ; but the diffusive Benefit to ourselves and to Mankind, which arises in an honest Mind from an intelligent Survey of those living Volumes, the Minds and Tempers of Men, cotemporary with ourselves, is more immediate, more active, and more effectual in the Promotion of the Public Good, if made a right Use of.

It has been long the Subject of Observation with me, that the two Sorts of Men in this Island, distinguished by the Appellations of Whig and Tory, or in other Words, by the more emphatical Terms of our constitutional true Englishmen and the arbitrary Party, are continually actuated by very different Impulses or Principles of Action ; the first-mentioned honest and benevolent Class, appear by their wise Measures to make their Way, only by the Justice and Goodness of their Cause, the general Welfare and Safety of King and People, whereas the last-mentioned have in general evidently appeared to aim at making their Way, by meer Power, Self-Love and sordid Influence ; Characters as opposite to the true constitutional Whig, as is the Gleam of the darkest Night, to the Splendour of the brightest Day.

I therefore, from a Principle of Love and Good-Will to my Country and every Fellow Creature therein, do most sincerely wish every Fellow Subject of this once happy Realm, may be willing to do their reasonable Duty in promoting as much as in them lies, the Cause of true constitutional Liberty, and in so doing must necessarily do their Part in countenancing

tenancing and encouraging the universally beneficial true Whig Principles,--so arising from our Duty to the best of Kings, our sensible Love to our Fellow Subjects, and the united Welfare and Safety of all the King's Dominions; and 'twill be no small Part of such beneficent Measures, to grant an honourable and safe Representation in Parliament, to our numerous Fellow Subjects in the American Provinces and Ireland, so that all considerable Parts of these Dominions in Europe and America, may become bound and united together in the Bonds of mutual Love and Friendship, mutually delighting to serve and promote each others true Interest and Welfare, well knowing that the Measure which unites, will certainly strengthen and tend to save the Whole; and on the contrary, the Measure which tends to divide and separate will certainly, if unhappily pursued, weaken and destroy the very Vitals, the Peace, and the Welfare of the Whole.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Nov. 28, 1768.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

IT is an old Saying, None knows where the Shoe pinches so well as he who wears it, and similar to the Moral therein emphatically contained, I have considered the pinching Sufferings of our Fellow Subjects in America, from the Source of being severely cramped in the Regulation of their Trade by those who make, but do not wear the Shoe which pinches them; how happy for the Americans would it be, and how reasonable, if they were granted an honourable Opportunity of rationally co-operating with their Countrymen

Countrymen on this Side the Water in the Formation of those pinching Shoes, so that they might become wearable without too much Irritation, which is always attended with a Degree of Danger, and for which it becomes the Wisdom of the Legislature, to provide a *generous Remedy*; for my Part, I cannot think of a more happy or more effectual one than granting them the Benefit of an Union, founded on such generous Principles as may effectually do them good and secure them from *real Injuries*, such an Union would also do good to Britain, and cement the common Safety and Interest of the Whole, in mutual Benefits reciprocally conveyed and received in different Ways, agreeable to their several Situations and Circumstances.

Would the Sages of the present Age at this important Juncture, make an industrious Use of the beneficent Talents given them by the benevolent Author of all Good; I say, would they at this important Crisis, employ a reasonable Portion of their Time in honest Endeavours, to bring about such a happy Union, by granting the Colonists a reasonable and salutary Representation in Parliament, which regulates their Trade or Taxes them, how truly constitutional and how glorious would be the Effects thereof, in leading to and preserving their mutual Peace and Safety.

So wisheth the cordial Friend of both,

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracchurch-Street,
Nov. 28, 1768.

To

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser:

S I R,

THE Englishman with his Eyes open, in the *Gazetteer* of Saturday, Nov. 26, does so clearly, and with so pathetic and so patriotic a Spirit of true Liberty, display the Principles and Virtues of the right and true *Whig*, that I cannot forbear recommending the Perusal thereof to every qualified Person, who has not yet read and adopted the beneficial Effect, which is so well adapted to convey to the intelligent Mind at this critical Season: 'Tis evident to me, that at present a vast Number of the unhappily deluded Subjects of this once happy Realm, are very much blinded in their Judgment by Principles as opposite to the above-mentioned as is Light to Darknesh; so are the arbitrary Principles of the Tory, which can never be reconciled to the true Genius of the British Constitution, as composed of the three Estates of the Realm, King, Lords, and Commons, the latter of which the People themselves, by their Representatives, ARE, and as such in all Parliamentary Aids, give and grant their own Money for public Services, and in so doing their Right is clear, constitutional and undeniable, as is that of a private Man giving his own Property out of his own Pocket; but contrary to this sound Doctrine, the Tories would make us blind as themselves, in believing that the same Man has also a Right to give and grant the Money also which is not his own, and out of another Man's Pocket, at least their Doctrine clearly implies as much, with only this Difference, that they are Wholesale Dealers therein, and in lieu of one, in a Retail Way, would by Wholesale have us believe that the Commons of Great Britain, represented in Parliament, have a Right to give and grant away the Money which is in
the

the Pockets of, and is the real Property of, their numerous Fellow Subjects in America, and that without their Leave, Concurrence, or Co-operation, so as to plead in their own Cause; which I confess has ever appeared to me not only absolutely differing from, and incompatible with, but also diametrically opposite to, the true Liberty of an Englishman, and as such ought to be considered by every sensible Briton as an extremely dangerous Hydra, whose many Heads, if not chopp'd off, would gradually exert their poisonous Qualities against the other Species of the genuine Liberty of a true Englishman.

Be roused, therefore, my Countrymen! and at this very critical Time of imminent Danger, let every true-born Son of Freedom exert the Faculties which God has given him for the Benefit of his Fellow Creatures and himself, by endeavouring to open the Eyes of the blind arbitrary Tories, who through the Prevalence of Self-Love see not the Danger of their Principles in this Land of Liberty, nor perceive the manifold Benefits of true conscientious Liberty, a Privilege truly beneficent and glorious in it's Effects, and therefore patronized by the Wise and Good in every Age. Oh! may the Number of the latter more and more increase and prevail, to the humbling and disarming the former from spreading (thro' Power) their baneful Influence on the Minds of Men, who might and may otherwise see the Deformity of that *Vice*, the sordid Love of Power, and arbitrary, unconstitutional Sway, the darling delusive Passion of the Stuart Race; which, had it not been restrained by the patriotic, firm, and intrepid Efforts of the true Whig, had ere now, in all Probability, plunged us into Ruin irretrievable.

May therefore every rational Effort be used to restrain and discourage those, who in this Country dare to hold arbitrary

bitrary Principles; and on the contrary, let us promote and encourage every sensible Advocate for constitutional Principles; so may our gracious and benevolent Monarch be securely established under Providence in perfect Peace and Righteousness, and the People in the perfect Enjoyment of not only their conscientious and personal, but their pecuniary and commercial Liberty also, so shall these Nations become a flourishing and mighty People, even to the Admiration of the Good, and Envy of the Evil, through every Part of the Globe, such is my hearty Desire.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Dec. 2, 1768.*

To the Right Hon. W. P.

Right Hon. Sir,

THE unhappy Conduct of the North American N. Provinces appearing so very alarming, its no Wonder that your Lordship's Penetration discovers there should be no Time lost in the necessary Means of humbling their towering, arbitrary and rebellious Spirits; I have no doubt of your doing it with Dispatch and a proper Spirit, and I hope also, and cannot much doubt, you may have learnt whereon their chief or very considerable Dependance for Safety *lies*, but nevertheless, lest the contrary should be possible, as its a Matter of some Magnitude; I am bold to say, that in private

.vate Conversation with many of the Merchants, &c. from
 thence, I have often been given to understand, that their
 utmost Efforts will be made to gain over the Officers and
 Soldiers sent from hence, therefore should none be sent
 but such as are of experienced Fidelity, acting upon Prin-
 ciple, so far as can be investigated: I would willingly
 hope *Good* may come out of it, and as Pennsylvania have
 behaved best on the whole, if a just Union was offered
 them by suitable Means by Representation in Parliament,
 and taking the needful Measures after to demonstrate it an
 Advantage to them, the rest of the Provinces seeing the dire
 Effects of Rebellion on one Side, and the Advantage of a con-
 trary Conduct on the other, may by such Advantage of
 Rewards and Punishments, all Petition for a Representa-
 tion on honourable and salutary Terms, and it will be of
 the highest Importance to manage with Coolness, Wisdom
 and Discretion, in respect of the Measures proper to be
 taken with the arbitrary and violent Oliverian and Demo-
 cratical Spirit of the Northern Provinces: I would wish
 that the Army may first encamp near the principal Town
 and City of Boston and New York, and then if the General
 should send to demand Audience of the Governor and such
 of the Council and Assembly as are of the highest Repu-
 tation for Wisdom, Prudence, Moderation and Eloquence,
 and lay before them a suitable Plan of Accomodation and
 future Union between Great Britain and her Colonies, and
 thereby recommend them to debate the Matter in their
 Councils and Assemblies, and so all may be well without
 Bloodshed; and if there should be after all, the useful Ne-
 cessity of Quartering on them towards Winter, for want
 of the Barracks, which they should have provided, I do
 much hope, further Violences will be, if possible, avoided,
 so that if it be possible a happy Reconciliation may be ob-
 tain'd without, to the mutual Advantage of the whole,
 thereby

thereby preventing the direful Effects of a *Civil War*, and the terrible Consequence of a House divided against itself.

I am, very respectfully,

A Well-wisher to my Country,

A. P.

*“ Truths would you teach, or save a sinking Land,
“ All fear, none aid you, and few understand.”*

POPE.

THE Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies, respecting the Right of the former imposing Taxes on the latter, for the Purpose of raising a Revenue to answer the End of defraying the Expence of civil Administration, and of protecting and defending the said numerous Colonies, having been now long subsisting, and carried on with too much Acrimony and Partiality on both Sides: It appears a salutary Measure for any suitably qualified, to propose some Means tending to lead to a happy Compromise, in order to which, 'twill be very needful to avoid every Appearance of unconstitutional Measures on one Side, and of disregard to Duty, and a becoming Submission on the other; for my Part in particular I could have sincerely wished that previous to, or concurrent with, the Act imposing Duties on the Colonists for raising a Revenue, another Act had been formed or passed for granting them a reasonable Representation, so bounded with Conditions, as to remove the Fears of the Colonists in such Case, being too hardly taxed in future; and so proportioned in respect

to Numbers, as to give a respectable and proper Share and Weight in the great Council of the British Nation, but as that Measure has been long set at nought by a Multitude of particular Persons in the Colonies, and indeed seems to be the general Sense of the Inhabitants there, as impracticable ; and also of late the Inhabitants of a capital Town of one of the principal Provinces, having by a public Act declared their Opinion of its being for ever impracticable, (altho' I totally dissent from them) yet while their Opinion is such, and also of its being unsafe for them to adopt as a Matter of Right to be taxed by the Parliament, wherein they are not represented ; I say, while these Opinions do so generally prevail among them, 'tis absolutely inexcusable in them, that they neither Petition for a Representation, nor propose any other Method of contributing their reasonable Share towards a Fund, absolutely needful to the Mother Country for general Protection and Defence of all her Dominions, and particular of those remote Parts so weak, and otherwise destitute of making Defence against any European Powers, with whom she may happen in future to be at War ; and altho' the Colonists seem to think that the former Method of each Colony of sufficient Abilities, being induced by requisitory Letters to contribute towards the Expence of Protection and Defence, yet remains to be the only constitutional Means, and plead a long Series of Precedents ; they do not appear to consider the manifest Difference between their former State of Infancy, and their present State of Advancement towards Maturity, and being able to do what was not heretofore required of them, on Account of their Incapacity, under these Considerations, and until a Representation may in future take Place ; it appears to me it would have well become such Colonies or Provinces, who object to the late Measure of being taxed,

to have proposed to raise Taxes among themselves, adequate to maintain such Garrisons, or such a Number of Forces, as are found necessary for their Security, against a Time of War, all which to be under the Command of the Mother Country, for the general Protection of the American Colonies: If such a Proposition had been properly made, or any more rational Method fairly stated, their Objection to the late Measure, would have appeared more tolerable, but to refuse and rebel, without proposing any Measure *more constitutional or more to their Liking*, whereby they might contribute a reasonable Share towards Protection and Defence, is evidently *extremely unbecoming*, and cannot with any Degree of Prudence be acquiesced with.

The Colonies should therefore either be content from the Necessity of the Case, to be taxed without a Representation, or Petition for a Representation, or else propose some adequate Measure to answer the End of their bearing a just and proportionable Part of the Expence of general Protection and Defence; the Benefit which the Mother Country receives from the Power and Practice of regulating their Trade, not being a sufficient Compensation (under the immense Load of public Debt already contracted) for the mighty Expence occasioned and liable to be further occasioned, by protecting and defending so many remote Plantations, otherwise weak, and destitute of the Means of repelling Invasions in Time of War, and it may be added that in the mean Time the Americans have no Right to plead *the Want of Representation*, to exempt them from Taxation until such Representation has been *properly petitioned for and refused*, and if not petitioned for, nor any other Method proposed by the Colonies, the Mother Country will have good Reason to tax them without, and that from
the

the Necessity of the Case, and they may well plead the ultimate Ratio, *Salus Populi Suprema est Lex.*

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
August 12, 1768.

To the D. of G. and the E. of H.

May it please your Lordship,

THE Author of the Letter, signed AMOR PATRIÆ, about the beginning of the Year 1766, when the Repeal of the Stamp-Act was in Agitation, presumes to beseech you will condescend to deliberately consider the Necessity of adopting the Scheme he then proposed, (a Copy of which sketch'd out by Way of Outlines was left at your House, in Grosvenor-Square, about that Time) for *an Union between Great Britain and her Colonies, by a Representation in Parliament*, or at least that some Plan of a similar Nature may be duly considered and reduced to Practice; the Colonists are at present pretty generally averse to it, through Fear of being overpowered by Numbers in the House, and thereby too hardly taxed afterwards, but these Fears might be alleviated if not wholly removed by a Munition Clause, very reasonable for their future Safety, in future Reigns, (taking the Chances of the Disposition of future Kings and future Ministers) by which Clause it might be enacted that they should not, after Representation taking Place and continuing, be ever taxed beyond the Terms to be stipulated in such Act of Union, and that the Duties and Taxes imposed on them should be appropriated to their own Security, by defraying the necessary Charges

Charges of a Civil Establishment, and for their Protection and Defence ; less than somewhat of this Nature for their Security will never satisfy them, so as for them to accept of a Representation, and without a Representation 'tis very evident they will ever hold Taxation unconstitutional, as it absolutely is in this Nation, and 'twill certainly be extremely dangerous to enforce them into Obedience, nor is it merciful to attempt it until such constitutional Measures have been first essayed : Therefore, if only to save Reputation, 'tis presumed with clear Evidence, that it must be the wisest, safest and best Measure, to procure an Act passed to grant them a reasonable Representation, and if any of the Assemblies should be so selfish and short-sighted, as to refuse or decline, then they will have no Plea like what they do unanimously, and with Reason now assert, that the Parliament of Great Britain has not a *constitutional Right* to tax them until they have been granted a Representation ; I am clearly convinced that the Expence of Protection and Defence considered, there is an absolute Necessity of their being induced somehow to bear a Part of the Expence of Government, &c. but I beseech it may be duly considered, that if done in a constitutional Way it may in all Probability be attended with the mutual Benefit and Prosperity of the whole, but if forced on them unconstitutionally, it may probable, in the Consequences attending, become the Ruin of both.

Wherefore be pleased to cause a Bill to be brought in, to explain and amend the late Act, and alter the inconsiderate Title thereof, which has alarm'd them, and also the Application of the Duties, so far as relates to the sole Purpose of raising a Revenue ; this having wrought the mighty Mischief, for say they, or at least may with Propriety think, if we are to be taxed by a Parliament, wherein we have no Voice,

Voice, 'tis to us an arbitrary Taxation, and the Debt of 140,000,000 considered, if we were tamely to submit to such unconstitutional Measure, no Line of Limitation being drawn, and having no Voice in the said Parliament, to plead their Cause, they might after become liable to be repeatedly and arbitrarily taxed, far beyond their Abilities, and absolutely repugnant to the Principles of the British Constitution; therefore be assured they will not be long peaceably subject to such very evidently dangerous Measures, least the same should be extended in future to their unbearable Prejudice.

As I am conscious of having no other View than the Good of the whole, I am bold to request that the Principle Matter of this imperfect Essay may be maturely considered in the Cabinet, and shall not scruple to hope my Motive will apologize for this Attempt.

AMOR PATRIÆ;

*Gracechurch-Street,
Sep. 9, 1768.*

To the E. of S.

Right Hon. Sir,

AS the Measure of Government towards the revolting Province, are through the Necessity of the Case, become a very serious and important Affair, if it should happily be suppress'd before the Contagion breaks out in other neighbouring Provinces, 'twill nevertheless become the Wisdom of Government to use the necessary Means of removing *their Grand Plea*, of being arbitrarily taxed by a Parliament,

Parliament, wherein they are not represented, and consequently without being heard to plead for themselves in such like Measures, which essentially concern them ; and although 'tis evident that the vast and important Services done them by the Mother Country, at an immense Expence, ought most certainly to induce their *Gratitude*, yet they think it not reasonable that any arbitrary, unconstitutional Measures should be acquiesced with by them, lest they and their Posterity should be hereafter loaded with further Taxation, beyond their Abilities, and in Violation of their constitutional Rights ; so will it be the wisest Measure to grant them a Representation, and if any of the Provinces should refuse, or decline, (for the present) yet the Grant, if on reasonable Terms, will effectually remove *their Grand Plea*, and justify the Measures of Government, which may be afterwards necessary towards such, who may be so selfish and unwise, as to refuse or decline accepting thereof ; so is it my earnest Desire, from a Principle of Good-will towards all concern'd, that these important Hints, may be kindly regarded, and maturely considered by those who have, or may have it in their Power, to promote the Peace and mutual Good, of both this Nation and America thereby, so wisheth and so prayeth,

A M O R P A T R I Æ.

Gracechurch-Street,
Sep. 14, 1768.

P. S. Be assured the Colonies will not otherwise be longer subject than Necessity makes unavoidable.

The Pleas of the Americans against Taxation.

1st. **T**HEIR not being represented in Parliament, this would no doubt be a valid Plea, if it had ever been refused them.

2d. They take off the Manufactures of this Country, many of them loaded with an enhanced Price, on Account of the Duties paid here, and so do eventually contribute.

3d. No Precedents of their heretofore contributing towards their own Defence, but by ministerial Letters of Requisition.

A N S W E R:

1st. But their Locality will well admit of a Representation, and 'tis their Duty to Petition for it, or else to be content to contribute their Share of Taxes, without a Representation.

2d. Most of the Colonists are Emigraters from the Mother Country and the Descendants of such, and *if they had continued here*, would also have used the Manufactures of this Country, and would also have contributed their Share of Taxes towards their own Protection: This is therefore not a reasonable Plea, that either their using British Manufactures here should wholly exempt them from Taxation, or that their removing from hence to another Part of the King's Dominions, have that Effect.

3d. Its but little more than two Centuries since the Colonies in America commenced peopleing, and Sum of the Prin-

Principle, not so long, and in their Infancy they wanted great parliamentary Aid, and had it, and many of them to great Extent, so in their infant State was Taxation very much out of the Question, while they could not subsist without pecuniary Aids; but are these Precedents? adapted (from their then Necessity) to their infant State, to be ever pleaded as a total Exemption from their contributing something towards their own Security, Protection and Defence, in a determined fixed and lawful Way, as it regards the amazing Expence of our Navy, &c. without which they would in every European War be liable to be *Over-run* and ransacked by the common Enemy; and while the Mother Country owes about 140,000,000, chiefly borrowed on Account of protecting, defending and settling America, and the Consequences thereof, should they the Americans be so blind to their own Duty, and to their own Interest, as to be unwilling to do something towards their own Security in future; forbid it Heaven! and remove their Ingratitude, and their Blindness to their own Interest, and to the Common Good of the Whole—such are the sincere Sentiments of

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracchurch-Street,
Ox. 1768.

Observations concerning the Conduct of Great Britain and America, in respect to the Dispute between them.

’TIS much to be desired that all the Merchants of Great Britain trading to America would be so wise, in respect to their own Interest, and the future Security of their

Property trusted among the Colonists, and also that they would be intrinsically good and kind enough to the Americans themselves, as to mercifully deny their Requests, so far as regard their Endeavours for a total Repeal of a late Act, imposing Duties, chiefly, if not wholly, intended for their own Benefit. I appeal to Experience if they have not too much exulted on Account of a former Repeal, and having once conquered, thro' their own overbearing Conduct, and the benevolent Good-nature of this Country? Have they not from thence been too much prompted to expect to be protected, defended, and maintained in all their Rights, without any Expence to themselves? and at the sole Expence of their Parent Country, which has, at an immense Expence, even beyond her Abilities without borrowing immense Sums, hitherto done almost the whole for them, and now groans under the Weight of the Debt contracted on their Account. Should the Merchants here again become the Dupes of the Colonists so far as to prevail with the Ministry and Parliament to repeal this last Act also, the probable Consequence would be, the Americans finding their Power by a second Conquest established, would be yet more strongly emboldened to look forwards to Independency on this their Parent Country, which has, at the Risque of all that is dear to her, graciously and magnanimously not only established them, but since saved them from Destruction, and that not without an immense Expence of Blood and Treasure.

Consider it therefore, my Countrymen! Will it be doing good to encrease or encourage this ungrateful and ruinous Temper? Will it be consistent with their Safety, or your own Interest, that they should, by a second Repeal, be lifted up in their Imaginations, to forget their Duty to their Protectors and Preservers? and, by that Means, pro-
voke

voke the good old Mother to chastize them with the Rod of Power, which is quite sufficient to lay them in Ashes before they have Time to repent, and who, nevertheless, I believe, are yet not unwilling to promote their Security and Happiness, on their being willing to concur in the necessary Measure:--But so far from that has been their Conduct, and their very partial Expostulations hitherto, that it does not appear, among all their Remonstrances and undutiful Combinations, that one of the Assemblies or Colonies have so much as made one single Proposition for doing among themselves something tantamount to what has been done by the Parliament, in order that they may, in future, do something towards the Expence of their own Protection, &c.

A. P.

Observations and Propositions for an Accommodation between Great Britain and her Colonies.

1. **E**VERY Englishman has an indisputable, constitutional Right to be heard for himself, or by his Council, in any judicial Cause, wherein his Life, Liberty, or Property is at Stake. Has not the same Englishmen in every Part of the King's Dominions, by the same Parity of Reason, as well as by many tried Precedents, throughout Ages, the same clear constitutional Right to be heard by himself, or his Representative, concerning the Taxation of his Property, or concerning a Part of his Property, being legally taken from him? and also concerning the Mode and Size thereof; and that for this evidently good Reason, none are likely to be so good Judges of the Mode of Taxation, adapted to any Colony, as the People themselves, nor of the Proportion they can bear thereof, without ruinous Consequences.

2d. Can

2d. Can the Colonists in the present Mode of Connection with Great Britain, have any such very necessary and very reasonable Opportunity of pleading their own Cause in the Parliament? who has nevertheless taxed them without.

3d. Is there not therefore an evident Necessity, in Point of Reason, Equity and Justice, as well as constitutional Right, that the Colonies should have proper Members of their own, to plead for them in Matters, wherein their Property is immediately concerned? in lieu of the hiterto practised Method, of having their Business done in a bungling Manner, by Out-door Agents, who, in the present Mode of Things, have no Right to speak in the House to any Matter relative to their Constituents Interest, or Instructions, unless by Summons or Petition, at a stated Time, and at the Bar, which is extremely inadequate to the effectual Support of the Interest of their Constituents, especially on emergent Occasions.

4th. Until this be granted, what Precedent can be produced in these Dominions for many Centuries past, of any Part of the King's Dominions, being taxed by the *Parliament of England before the Union with Scotland, or Great Britain since*, without a Representation being granted them, to make the same consist with the never failing, native constitutional Maxim in the British Nation, of granting their own Money for public Services, without being liable to, or acquiescing with its being taken from them without their Consents, or without their submitting to have their Fellow Subjects (the Commons in Parliament) giving and granting away *Property, not their own, without the Consent of the Proprietors*, and without the Proprietors being heard for themselves in their own Cause, by Representation? It will be found on proper Search, there are not any such Instances
on

on Record. The late Taxation of America therefore appears absolutely unconstitutional, or contrary to the constitutional Maxims of Government, Legislation and Taxation, in this Land of Liberty, which every true-born Englishman is bound in Honour to support, as he tenders the Happiness of himself or his Posterity, or that of his Countrymen or theirs.

5th. Ergo, a wife-established Representation of all considerable Parts of the British Dominions in Europe and America, in one central Parliament, to be the common Center and Spring of all Grants for Money, for national Purposes, would give Stability, Unity and Concord, and consequently greater Strength to the Whole.

6th. Suppose then that every Province in America were to be allowed by a new Act, for a proposed Union, to send, each of them, 4, 3, 2 or 1 Member, at Discretion, according to the Size, Population and Abilities of each Province or Assembly, and these to be chosen by every Assembly from among themselves, and a special Distance of Time, perhaps six Months, to be allowed in the new Writs for America, and the old Members to continue in a new Parliament, until others in Virtue of new Writs were sent or appointed in lieu of the old; and if by this Means, as it is probable, it will be found that America thus represented, would in such Case have about or nearly the same Number of Members, in Proportion to the Number of Inhabitants, as Scotland now has. It appears evidently a Measure highly reasonable and conducive to the mutual Good, Peace and Safety of the Whole. Thus every Province to have their Assemblies continued for their own Provincial internal Legislation; but in Matters of national Concern, such as Protection, Defence, Regulation of Trade and
naval

naval Concerns, all such Matters properly deemed National, or such as concerns the Benefit and Welfare of the Whole, to be managed and Laws relative made, by that one central Parliament representing the Whole.

7th. And on a similar Plan might Ireland be also included, allowing about 6 or 8 Members for each Province.

8th. But in all these Concerns, as the Mother Country has (during this Century, and a very few Years of the last) contracted a public Debt of 140 Millions, almost wholly by protecting, defending, and settling the several Provinces, Plantations and Countries, depending thereon; it should be in Point of Justice to good old England, (having so born the Burthen of nearly the whole Expence so far) that the Act of Navigation should at all Events be maintained in her Favour in the main Part inviolably, in order the better and more effectually to preserve all reasonable Power, and the Seat of Government, to her present beneficent central Situation.

9th. So the large populous American Provinces, having the Liberty of sending either 4, 3, 2, or 1 Member at their Option, might, if eligible to them; have their Business done as cheap as at present, and by a proper Member chosen, and deputed by and from among themselves, and to reside near the central Seat of Government, and between each Session, might occasionally, if required by their Constituents, make a Voyage to visit them, and receive fresh Instructions when needful, or to stay here continually, waiting to receive the same, as they might severally chuse for their several Interests and Occasions.

10th. It

10th. It will be needful to exempt those American Members from the Qualifications required of British Members, respecting the Value of their Estates, and as some of the Plantations have been settled by, and are now chiefly composed of, Dissenters from the Church of England, it would be extremely reasonable that their Members should be exempt from taking the Oaths required by the Test Act; and here I cannot forbear mentioning, it is much to be lamented, that every wise Member, who is too honest to subscribe to the Absurdities contained in some of the 39 Articles, should be entirely excluded, and the Nation, and its important Concerns, be thereby deprived of the Wisdom of their Councils, nevertheless the Adherents to the Church of Rome should be effectually excluded.

11th. In order to make the Union and Representation acceptable to the Americans, so as to promote Amity, and prevent hurtful Suspicions; it would be a wise Measure to insert in the Act of Union, the precise Mode and Size of internal Taxation, if any be intended for America, so that it might be as a Munition to them, against Fears of being imposed on, beyond their reasonable Abilities, after Representation takes Place; and as they must necessarily have continued to them their Provincial Legislations, for the internal Concerns of each Colony, and as several internal Taxes, must be needful for the Support thereof, they should not be liable to have any other internal Tax laid by Parliament, than one particular Mode, and that only to answer the End of defraying the Charges of their civil Establishments, and of contributing their reasonable Proportion towards the Expence of Protection and Defence, and that Mode cannot be better fixed, than in a Pound-rate on their Estates, as being the most impartial in respect of their Abilities, and will grow in Proportion, as they increase in Population and
L Wealth;

Wealth ; and the Difficulty of determining the Value of their Estates, may be easily obviated and adjusted, to a sufficient Degree of Equity:

12th. For present Relief, and in Consideration of the Merit and Demerit of the Case on both Sides, and for Peace Sake, let a Bill be brought in to explain, and amend the late Act, imposing Duties, by altering the Title thereof, and by appropriating the Duties to their own Use and Benefit, as before-mentioned only, in lieu of raising a Revenue. Thus healing the threatened Breach, and laying the Foundation of general Peace and Concord among ourselves, which will give great Stability to Government, and disappoint the vain Hopes of the common restless Enemy, who would be proud to take Advantage of a House divided against itself.

13th. On account of the Distance of the Colonies, and in order the more effectually to preserve their Members, dependent on the Instruction of their Constituents, 'twould be very reasonable that each Assembly should have the Liberty of electing new Members, at the End of three Years, from every general Election, and such new elected Members to continue for the remaining four Years, of every septennial Parliament.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Oct. 10, 1768.*

To D. B.

Worthy Friend,

HAVING the Good and Welfare of both Great Britain and her Colonies at Heart, and being also in general a Lover of Peace, I have from a Motive of Benevolence composed my Sentiments on the subject Matter of the present Disputes, and having for the Convenience of ready Communication, caused some Copies to be printed, I presented one of them to the King in Person on 5th Day last, and the same Day also to the first Lord of the Treasury, and the third to the Secretary of State, and have also sent them to the rest of the Cabinet and Privy Counsellors, and also to the Board of Trade; in all which, as well as in Regard of the Performance itself, now inclosed, 'twould be some Satisfaction to the Author, to have the Approbation of his Friend, to whom he now recommends the serious Perusal thereof.

And while I am Writing an Occurrence of a very different Nature, reviving to my View, I purpose also to inclose herewith a Copy of a Letter, wrote in the yearly Meeting-Week, 1766, on the Occasion of my declining in the yearly Meeting, a Service to which I had been (with a kind Intention) nominated, but without my Consent or Knowledge, and not willing the Service should suffer, and well knowing the Qualifications, required by the Minutes of the yearly Meeting, respecting Members of the Meeting for Sufferings, and being conscious of having them not; I judged it Insincere to accept the Service, but being apprehensive my Character would be again loaded with the Imputation, of being unwilling to take the Trouble of serving the Society, as it had often done before, from similar

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Occasions;

Occasions ; I was no longer willing to bear it, but chuse rather to put my Sentiments to the Test of the most eminent in the Society, accordingly I wrote to the kind Friend, who had (not knowing my Sentiments) nominated me, stating the Reasons of my then and long preceding Conduct, in respect of *the pecuniary Branches, or System and Discipline, &c.* I have inclosed therewith Copies of three other Papers, wrote before to other Friends, which accompany the said Letter on that Occasion ; I am not unsensible of its being a very tender Point, for any Friend to give his Opinion on so delicate a Point ; nevertheless am at Liberty, in my Mind, to communicate to thee, as I have at several Times since the first Occasion, and to about twenty eminent Friends, and that from a Desire of promoting Sincerity and Liberty of Conscience among ourselves.

I am, &c.

T. CROWLEY,

*Gracechurch-Street,
Oct. 15, 1768.*

Considerations *recommended to the Colonists, &c.*

V I Z.

HOW can it consist with the first Principle of Justice to suppose that an Englishman, who while he continues in his native Country, pays by Taxes his Proportion towards the important Benefit, of being protected and defended in his Life, Liberty and Property, by very expensive Operations, and Influence of the British Navy and Army ? I say how does it consist with Justice, that such a Man voluntarily

luntarily emigrating from hence (from Views of Interest) to America, and there enjoying the same beneficent Protection, should (on his Translation from this to that Part of the same Dominions) become exempt from his Share of Taxes, and thereby leave the whole Burthen, of maintaining the Navy and Army, (offering equal Protection to the Whole) on those who from a filial Affection to the Parent Country, stay behind in the Land of their Nativity? It appears to me 'twould be cruel to such good Subjects, that the whole Expence should continue to be born by them, while Ireland and America do equally enjoy the Benefit of Protection thereby.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Nov. 1768.*

To His MAJESTY.

May it please your Majesty,

FILL'D with Sentiments of Duty to your Majesty, and of the Love of my Country, and its essential Welfare, as it consists in Peace, Concord, and Stability; and from an impulse of perceiving the very important Difference (to the Safety, or the Contrary of the whole) between the probable Consequences, of *right* or *wrong* Measures, being taken in respect of the present Dissentions, between Great Britain and her Colonies; I am emboldened from thence humbly to lay before your Majesty, in the inclosed Letter, some Sentiments, adapted to reconcile all those Differences which have so unhappy arisen, and to lay the Foundation
of

of future Peace and Security, between the several extended Parts of your Majesty's Dominions, in Europe and America. I hope your Majesty's Benevolence will be manifest in pardoning this well-meant Attempt, from a private Person.

I am, with loyal Affection

For your Majesty's Shining Virtues,

Your dutiful Subject,

THOMAS CROWLEY.

*Propositions
1777 in 1777*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

Magna est Veritas et Prevalet.

THE Americans assert they have both Constitutional and Charter Rights to grant their own Money for public Services, wherein they appear to me extremely right, as they would appear evidently to me, to be also, in their constitutional Plea of their Fellow Subjects, the Commons in Parliament, having no constitutional Right to tax them, if they had therein, and at same Time annexed and conjoined in the same Plea, as Part thereof, these Words *without granting us a Representation in the Parliament*, in order we may plead in our own Cause, concerning the Taxation of our own Property : I say, if they had in their Plea added this absolutely needful constitutional Part, I for one should have absolutely justify'd their Remonstrances, but so far from annexing this to their Plea, to make it constitutional, the Bostonian turbulent Remonstrances, foolishly asserts the Impracticability of a Representation in their Favour, on Account of
their

their local Circumstances, which Objection appears to common Sense merely superficial, since 'tis well known many Voyages have been perform'd from Boston to England in twenty Days, and in some Cases less than a Month is no uncommon Length for such Voyage, and may be (to any Member elected in America) perform'd nearly as soon, and at much less Expence, compared with a Journey of a Scotch Member from the Northern Places of Election, in that Part of Great Britain, to London ; so does their supercilious Subterfuge evaporate like Smoke, and without want of Charity, appears to have arisen from an inglorious, selfish Principle, of making use of a constitutional Plea (partially and very imperfectly considered) to get themselves exempt from all Taxation towards the Expence of Civil Government, Protection and Defence, which upon a candid Examination, must to the intelligent and impartial, appear absurd, unjust, selfish, and totally inconsistent with their Duty and Allegiance, as also to the Golden Rule, of doing as they would be done by.

A M O R P A T R I Æ :

*Gracechurch-Street,
Nov. 1, 1768.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

HACKNEY Chairs for two Persons with low Wheels, either on the outside or underneath, and to be drawn by one Horse, and a Boy to ride ; 'tis very probable an ingenious Contrivance of this Nature, when the new Pavements are compleated, would be abundantly more convenient than the present huge, monstrous Vehicles, called
Hackney-

Hackney-Coaches, which too much fill up the Streets, and in narrow Streets and Lanes cannot pass each other; without very frequently incommoding Passengers and the Drivers too; and 'tis computed, for one full Fare of four Persons, there are a great many of only two, or single Persons, who use Hackney-Coaches, and even for four Passengers; a more compact smaller Machine, is very necessary, and would be very convenient.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
About Nov. 1768.

To the Commissioners of the Treasury.

May it please,

FOR the Good of the Publick, I take the Freedom to recommend to your attentive Consideration the Propriety of converting the 4 per Cent Consol Annuities into either 3 per Cent, or Life Annuities, *viz.*

1st. Two Millions thereof might probably the next ensuing Year be converted into 3 per Cent consolidated, by allowing 500,000, or $\frac{1}{4}$ Part thereof to every ~~Subscriber~~ in Lottery Tickets; but as the unreasonable Difference in the Market-Price, between 3 and 4 per Cent, has been of late artificially wrought up by the Alley Politicians, in order to make a profitable Bargain with Government; perhaps it might be a wise Measure to shew them 'tis not the only Method in your Power.

subscriber 2d. Ergo,

2d. Ergo, let 500,000 thereof be this next ensuing Year converted into Lottery Annuities, for the Lives of the Subscribers, being 20 Years of Age and upwards, in lieu of the present Interest, which would probably fill, and if not, it might be drawn for the Sum, which may be subscribed. If the full Sum should be subscribed, let the lowest Life Annuity be One Pound each Year, during the Life of the Bearer, being upwards of 20 Years of Age; this Limitation is absolutely needful to prevent Lives of between 10 and 20 being put in by purchase, as that Age would greatly militate against the Profits to the Sinking Fund, by this Scheme, because 'twill on Examination be found, that Period of Life is in a very great Degree, more healthful than any other decimal Term of human Life; and the intermediate Prices adjusted, so as to make about three, not to exceed four Blanks to a Price:

3d. As the high Price of those 4 per Cent Annuities has probably in Measure arose, from a Desire of those who, being advanced in Years, want to make the most annual Income they can in *Government Securities*; 'tis very probable many of the present Proprietors and others, who have no Children, would be desirous of increasing their annual Incomes further yet, under the same Security, and Conveniency of receiving it, by converting their present Stock into Annuities for their own Lives immediately, in which Case all between forty and fifty might be allowed 5 per Cent on their Capital so subscribed, and all above fifty 6 per Cent; and tho' this last third Scheme would probably take something from the Sinking Fund the few first Years, 'twould richly make amends afterwards, by putting the Principal into a happy Train, of being gradually discharged; so that after a few Years the same Sinking Fund would be yearly increased by Lives dropping, until this

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whole

whole Fund, in the End, become a clear additional Increase to that salutary Fund, which was happily intended to sink the Public Debt, now of an enormous Size.

So when the Alley Politicians find that several Schemes are under your Consideration for Preemption or Preference, the unreasonable Difference between the 4 and 3 per Cents may probably subside, and cause the first Scheme to be more advantageously pursued by Government another Year.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Nov. 7, 1768.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

HOW dangerous does it by Consequences appear for even the best of Kings, to employ Ministers, who being *young*, and without the *Benefit of Experience and Virtue*, and not well grounded in the Laws and Constitution of their Country, and for want of which, set-up their Will and Pleasure for Law, instead of pursuing constitutional Measures, which latter are ever found safest to govern by, especially in a Land of Liberty?—A Word to the Wise is sufficient.

AMOR PATRIÆ:

*Gracechurch-Street,
Nov. 20, 1768.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

THE humble Petition of We the underwritten, on behalf of ourselves and others, Merchants and Manufacturers of Great Britain, &c. that Leave may be given to bring in a Bill, for the further Encouragement of the Importation of Bar Iron from America ; first, by laying a Duty of £. per Ton thereon at the several Forges in each Colony, where any are or may be ; and secondly, that such Duties, being collected, may be apply'd in allowing and paying a Bounty of £. per Ton on the Exportation of the same from each Colony, for any Port, as such as may be judg'd proper in Great Britain ; and thirdly, that a further Bounty of £. per Ton may be granted by Parliament, to be paid here, on such Importations, by which Means the raising Bar Iron in, and Exportation from, America, would be much enlarged, and also the Rights of Iron Manufacturers of the Mother Country, already established by Acts of Parliament, for the Prevention of Iron Manufactures being carried on in America, would be better secured, as it would probably discourage Bar Iron from being converted into Manufactures there in Proportion, as it would be found to encourage the Exportation thereof from thence to Great Britain, and so would prove a mutual Benefit to the Merchants, by furnishing a further Medium of Remittance, for such other Manufactures and Merchandize, as the Colonies take from the Mother Country, and to the British Manufacturers, by the further promoting of their Trade from hence.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

On the True End, and proper Mode of Government, adapted to the British Empire.

THE first and primary End of Government, is the Security of the Whole; King, Lords, and Commons, including the common People, by Municipal Laws, for the mutual Protection and Defence of their Persons and Estates, as well as the Preservation of their civil and religious Rights, and Liberty of Conscience, in Opposition to arbitrary and unreasonable Power, in either State, or Church.

2d. In order that this End may be happily procured, by the happiest of Means in the Power of human Wisdom and Experience; it appears reasonable and just that the subsidies, and Taxes established, or be established, for carrying the before recited true Ends into Execution, for the Safety and Benefit of each mutually, (Relation being had to their Situation, Abilities, and Circumstances) should be laid in equitable Proportion, or that each Kingdom and Province of the whole Empire, in Europe and America, should equitably, justly, and in due Proportion be taxed, according to their several Abilities, towards the Support of the Navy and Army, which so protects and defends them, in their Persons and Estates.

3d. Respecting Regulations of Trade and Naval Concerns, due Regard should be had to the Supplies, Produce of each Province, beyond their own Occasions to use, in order to make the same diffusive of a general Benefit to all other Parts, where is found a Want of such Supplies; and this by judicious and well proportion'd Encouragements, by Bounties on either Exportation from, or importing to, Places where raised, or wanted, and also by well proportion'd

tion'd Duties on the Importation of luxurious Articles, and on the Exportation of such, which cannot be spared without Prejudice to the Kingdom or Province in Question, for the Time being, and at all Times, as Occasion may be, or ensue.

4th. In all Cases of imperial Concerns, such as Protection and Defence, general Regulation of Trade, and naval Affairs, Laws relative, as it effects the whole, should be with Propriety made and enacted by the Representatives of the whole in Parliament assembled; and those Parts which have not that Benefit ought for their own Safety, and true Interest to Petition for it also: It will be a wise Measure for the Parliament to pass an Act, granting such Leave to every Province, who may Petition for the same, and in three Years after such Act, granting such Leave, is passed, and also published through the whole Empire? Then and after, all Parts so given Leave to be represented, to be, and may properly be, adjudged liable to be Taxed by the Parliament, on all Occasions, for Protection and Defence, in such just Proportions, as they in their Wisdom may see meet and proper, and that whether the Provinces severally make Choice of such Representation or not.

5th. But in all local, particular provincial, internal Concerns, particularly regarding the Province in Question, at any Time, and not properly appertaining to, or including the Concern of the rest; Laws relative to every such particular Province, to be made by the Assembly of that Province, not derogating from the Laws of the Land; and if each of the four Provinces of Ireland were to have a particular Assembly for such Purpose, 'twould probably operate for the mutual Good and Safety of the whole, preferable to one Parliament for the Whole of that Kingdom.

6th. By

6th. By these Means all and every Part of our gracious King's Dominions, in Europe and America, might be firmly and safely united together, and to each other, in the indissoluble Bonds of Unity and Peace.—So wisheth and so prayeth,

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
March 2, 1766.*

P. S. The Americans appear not to have impartially considered, that if they have any Sovereign Power over them, it must be the same Power, which is Sovereign in their Mother Country, viz. the three Estates of the Realm, as composed of King, Lords and Commons, the joint Acts of whom, being supported with the Public Money, are Acts of the Sovereign Power, and must necessarily bind the Whole; nevertheless 'tis the proper Concern of even this Sovereign Power, to avoid exercising that Power contrary to the fundamental Principles of the Constitution, nor otherwise than properly coincides with such beneficent Principles, as do tend to preserve the Liberties, the Properties, and the Peace of the Whole, and every considerable Part of the Empire; so should the Wisdom of the Legislature have been more manifest, in avoiding an unconstitutional Taxation of America, or in other Words, should not have attempted to Tax them, without a previous or concurrent Act of Parliament, to make the same constitutional, by granting them the constitutional Liberty of petitioning for, and having granted, the Benefit of a reasonable Representation, whereby their own proper Members might oppose, or co-operate, in making and adjusting every Law, which should after be made, to bind them; and 'twould be but wise and prudent in them to previously insist on some

Clauses

Clauses in their Favour, which might serve as a Munition to them, against Fears of being imposed on after Representation takes Place : If the State had granted such constitutional Liberty, whether accepted or not, attended with such Munition Clauses, previous to, or concurrent with, the late Taxation, what a World of Difficulties, Distresses, and Dangers might have been avoided? And I do most heartily wish every one whom it properly concerns, may yet consider in Time, before it be too late, that a Measure of the Nature above described, may yet be adapted, and the Peace of the whole Nation and Empire may be thereby preserved ; but how woful and lamentable is it ! the arbitrary present Leader in ministerial Affairs, seems to have so much of the Temper of the *Stuarts* in him, that it appears, we have not any proper Foundation to hope right Measures being taken while he presides.

I therefore do most sincerely and devoutly wish our Benevolent Monarch may be so happy as to receive from above such Rays of Illumination, as may discover wherein the true Interest and Peace of the Nation, and himself, doth manifestly consist, not in arbitrary Measures, but in constitutional Measures, which latter I hope will ever, in this Nation, prove itself the Streight Path, which leads to Security and Tranquillity, both to King and People.

AMOR PATRIÆ;

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

PERMIT me through the diffusive Channel of your very useful Paper, to propose a Reformation of that Act, imposing a Tax on the Inhabitants of the City and Suburbs of London, of One Shilling and Six-pence in the Pound on the Rents of the Houses they occupy, for the Purpose of making and repairing the Pavements, together with cleansing and enlightenning: This Tax has always since its Commencement, appeared to me an unreasonable Burthen on the poorer Sort of Shop-keepers, Abundance of whom are continually young Beginners in Trade, and of small Fortunes, if any, and as such are oblig'd to struggle hard for a Livelihood, under which Circumstances 'tis hard for a young industrious Person, streighted in Circumstances, to bear so heavy a Tax annually, in order to accommodate the Rich, Opulent and Luxurious, who ride in their Coaches, and so receive the chief Benefit of this very useful Regulation of the Pavements, without paying any Thing, as Riders in Coaches, or Coach Owners, towards an Improvement, which does so very much contribute to their Ease and Emolument; and as Country Waggon and Carts, and Town Carts and Drays, or their Owners do reap much Benefit also from this new Regulation of Pavements, it appears but reasonable, the Owners thereof should contribute, as such, to the Repairs of that Pavement, which is abundantly more wore by their Carriages, than by the poor Shop-keepers and private House-keepers all together; why then should the Innocent suffer for the Guilty? or why should not those who do the most Damage to the Pavement, pay the most (instead of nothing) towards the Reparation of such Damages, or wear and tear?

I would

I would therefore propose that at the least 6d. in the Pound be taken off the Houses, and that a small daily Street Toll be taken of all Carriages, at the nearest Turnpikes to London, at all the Avenues thereto, in lieu of Sunday only, that being a Day whereon those Carriages, which do the most Mischief to the Pavements, do not travel; and if a small annual additional Tax on Wheels, within the Limits of those Turnpikes City-ward's, 'twould in my Estimation be a much more equitable Way of raising Money to repair the Pavements, and maintain the Propriety thereof, than the present unrighteous Mode.

A M O R P A T R I Æ;

Gracechurch-Street,
May 3, 1769.

To Lord N.

Propositions for a Clause to be inserted.

INasmuch as several Provinces in America have complained of being *taxed by the Parliament, wherein they are not represented*; and as there is a Necessity, in Point of Justice to Great Britain, that they should proportionably and equitably, somehow, bear an annual Tax, or Contribution towards the very great Expence of the Navy and Army, which protects them, and prevents them from becoming a Prey to our Enemies; be it therefore enacted, &c. That in order they may have the Benefit of a fair Representation in Parliament, and so co-operate in making the Laws, such Provinces as are desirous of that Honour and Privilege,

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may

may, on Petition, have it conferred on them, subject to such wholesome Limitations and Provisions, as Commissioners to be appointed by the three Estates of Realm, and Commissioners to be appointed by the Assemblies of such Provinces, shall in Concert deem meet and convenient, and that the Assembly of each Province may be allowed to send Commissioners, with full Powers, to London, for such Purpose.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
March 17, 1770.*

P. S. This would take away their *Grand Pillar of Objection* to the Measure, call'd unconstitutional Taxation, since if any of them refuse, they cannot after with any Modesty plead Exemption.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

Observations recommended to the sober Considerations of such of the King's Subjects, who appear to be overbeated with Party Rage.

1st. **T**HE House of Commons, in Parliament assembled, in expelling John Wilkes, Esq; and resolving him incapable of sitting therein again, during the present Parliament, on Account of his notorious Misdemeanors, have therein done no more than excercised the long Usage of Parliament, and their uncontrouled Right therein.

2d. After

2d. After such Expulsion and Incapacitation, no County, City or Borough, had ever before the Assurance to bid Defiance to the Representation of the whole Nation, in Parliament assembled, by putting up and choosing again the Person so incapacitated ; so herein lies the Novelty of the Case, and as Wilkes's Party refused to put up any other Candidate, and as there was a Necessity of having two, the Freeholders in the Interest of the Court were under a Necessity of putting up another, who might be elected, and take his Seat ; but both the Novelty, and this Necessity arose entirely from the Conduct of Wilkes's Party ; so are not the Court, or their Well-wishers in that Respect to blame ; but the Liberty Party are extremely to be blamed for not putting up and electing some other of their own Choice, since *Wilkes* could not sit, and their Attempt in re-electing him utterly in vain, which any one, endued with common, sober Sense, might easily have foreseen.

3d. Since therefore it appears that, through, partly mistaken Apprehensions, and partly through Inexperience, Wilkes's Party have been giving themselves and Administration much Trouble, without any Degree of Propriety ; and have extended their Demands to unexampled Assurance, in demanding their Sovereign to dissolve the Parliament, and dismiss his Ministers, in order to procure Redress to so notorious a Delinquent ; let me persuade them to desist from such dangerous Delusion, and to listen to the sober and serene Voice of sound Reason, which will council them to be thankful for the many Blessings we enjoy, rather than thus to distress the most virtuous and best of Kings, whose Moderation and Mercy has been often demonstrated, and whom 'tis our Duty to endeavour to make happy, in cheerfully obeying the Laws, and so making Government

easy, and at Liberty to pursue the essential Good and commercial Interest of the Nation.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
March 31, 1770.

To Lord N.

May it please your Lordship,

AS the future Welfare, Safety, and Prosperity (or the Contrary) of the King's Dominions do, or will, very much consist, in forming a judicious and constitutional Connection, in respect of the very important Matter of each Province in America and Ireland, furnishing their reasonable Quota towards *the mighty Expence of the Fleet and Army*, which protects and defends their Persons and Estates; and as Great Britain alone, has hitherto over-acted her Part, in respect of Supplies, by *Borrowing and Funding*, it appears to the Eye of impartial Reason, that 'twould be a wise Measure, in this Land of Liberty, to give (by Act of Legislature) a constitutional Right of Representation to each considerable Part of these Dominions, especially in America, and Ireland, and altho' there be, or appear too great a Probability, on the present Appearance of their Temper and Sentiments; that for the present some of them would, from the Principle of short-sighted and mean Self-love, and others from a View of future Independance, refuse or decline that great Honour, lest they should thereby be brought to bear some fixed Proportion of the public Supplies, by a constitutional general Taxation, which would reach them, as well as Great Britain and others, and lest their Views of future Independance

dance should be thereby cut off; yet it may be rationally expected, that on wise and proper Restrictions and Encouragements, being formed, or proposed in the same Act, which shall give a *Right of Representation*, they might all of them, one after another, find it their Interest to accept it; and if any, or even many of them, should be found to stand out, nevertheless would it be a very safe and wise Measure to give a Right of Representation to the whole, because 'twould prove itself the only constitutional Means of justifying the necessary Measures of Government afterwards, in respect of Taxation; such being now the Case and Situation of even the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, where Sedition against the Parliament, has taken Rise, viz. Boston, being the chief Town or Center of that Government, and the Assembly for the whole Province convening there, (as should the Parliament at Westminster for the whole British Empire) is composed of a Representation from each Township in that Government, who voluntarily make use of the Right given them; but of about 120 Townships, near 40 of them do not make use of that Right, because of the Distance, and Expence of sending Representatives; nevertheless they are taxed by that Assembly, and pay their Quota, and why! because a Right of Representation is given them, and their declining to make use of *that Right* is a Matter of of their own Choice, so would it be *absurd* to complain of being taxed, nor can they plead it *unconstitutional*, because of the *Right of Representation being given them*.

Take therefore the Example of that sagacious People in this Respect, and by forming and promoting a wise Act, unite us all together in mutual Defence, and in contributing the Means or Sinews thereof: Suppose then a new Regulation of this Nature was to take Place, while Peace and Leisure continue, viz. by the same Act to stipulate that
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the Whole of every Species of at least future Taxation and Duties, in each particular Government, (other than a Pound Rate on their Estates) should be left entirely to the Disposition of the Parliament, or the Assembly of each Kingdom or Province, for the Purpose of defraying the Expence of their own particular Civil Government and particular Local Concerns; but that in future, a new and, as near as possible, *correct Valuation*, should be made of all Persons Estates, (throughout each of the King's Dominions so represented) who have any of the Value of Pounds per Ann. (real Estate or personal Capital) or upwards, and every Person in each Dominion to pay in equal Proportion, out of the annual Income of their real Estates, and out of the computed Income of their personal Capital, reckoning at 5l. per Cent. per Ann. so much as to raise Q. S. Year by Year, to answer the End of Protection and Defence; and if it should prove at any Time absolutely necessary to borrow more Money for such Purposes, it should be done on a Part of this general Tax, to be made perpetual for Security of the Loan, and not on those of Great Britain only, where the Necessaries of Life are already to much overloaded by Taxes, to the great Grievance of the Poor, and *Discouragement* of our *Manufacturers*, and consequently of the *national Trade*, to such foreign Parts, where we meet with Competitors therein.

These well-intended Hints are humbly submitted, in hope they may be happily improved on, at this critical Juncture.

I am, &c.

A M O R P A T R I Æ.

Gracechurch-Street,
April 2, 1770.

To Lord N. and Lord H.

May it please your Lordships.

THE Magnitude and great Importance of a proper constitutional Subordination of the Colonies to the sovereign Power of these Realms, in Respect of the Taxation of their Property, towards the vast Expence of the Navy and Army, which protects the Whole, has induced me (having through a Series of long Experience been well acquainted with their Notions of Right and their future Views) to employ my Pen for a short Time, to expostulate concerning the great Danger and mighty Mischief, which will probably accrue to the Whole, if proper Measures should not be soon entered into, to remove such threatening Evils, and lay the Foundation of mutual Cordiality, by granting them a *safe and honourable Right of Representation* in that Parliament, which raises all the Money, and which supports and maintains the Whole of the Royal Navy and British Army, both in Great Britain and America : Nothing is to me more clear and reasonable than that the same Power, which raises the Money to defray these mighty Expences, should be legally and constitutionally ascertained, what Part of that great Expence they should annually draw back from the several Provinces, protected and defended in Consequence, and by Virtue of such parliamentary Grants ; but this cannot be constitutionally enacted, nor carried into Execution, without granting to them such Right of Representation, in order to remove their grand Objection of being taxed by a Parliament, wherein they are not represented ; and 'tis equally clear to me that without such Right being given them, Money drawn from them unconstitutionally, will not upon the Whole do this Country any good, but what will
be

be over-ballanced with preponderating Evils; and yet would it be doing Injustice to the Mother Country, to continue the hitherto practised Method of Great Britain alone defending and maintaining the Whole, by such enormous borrowed Sums, as does manifestly greatly endanger the future Abilities of Great Britain, and the future Safety of the Whole.

There has long appeared to me an original Imperfection in the Manner of settling America, at least in the Charters granted, during about a Century past, since which the peopleing of that Continent has been, without much Difficulty, very rapid; and if not originally at first, yet so soon as the Population became secure, 'twould have been a wise Measure to have inserted in every Charter, that on their Population and Abilities appearing to the whole Sovereign Power, or the three Estates of the Realm, in Parliament assembled, sufficiently invested to admit the same with Propriety, that they should each of them become liable to an internal annual Taxation, by the three Estates of the Realm, towards their Quota of the great Expence of Protection and Defence, but not without a Right of Representation, being at the same Time granted them on such honourable and safe Terms, as to the Wisdom of the said Sovereign Power, or the three Estates of the Realm, in Parliament assembled, should be deemed meet and convenient: This would effectually have prevented the many Bickerings, Dangers and Mischiefs, which have happened between the Mother Country and her Colonies since; and as the Omission has unhappily left open a Door to very dangerous Calamities, if not shut in Time, it may not now be too late, by Resolution and Fortitude, joined with Patience and Moderation, to provide an effectual Remedy in future, by granting such

Right

Right of Representation, &c. it might probably have been much easier effected many Years ago, before their Population, their Wealth, and their Disgust, were increased to the present Degree ; but it is of much Importance to duly consider, that altho' what is past cannot be recalled, yet every Year's Delay would increase the Difficulty, in Proportion as the Colonies increase in Population and Wealth, and consequently of *Power* ; a sufficient Increase of which is all they now want, in order to shake off *and become independent*, but as *this* cannot rationally be supposed ever to happen, without many intervening dreadful Scenes, both there and here ; 'tis most certainly the Duty of every Minister and honest Man, in Power, to concur in contributing his Part towards laying a happy Foundation of Prevention ; and of a firm, lasting Union in future, what should have been done many Years ago, it may be fairly presumed, may yet be practicable, if not delayed ; but let it be remembered, the Americans in general, taught by the Experience of this Country, are of Opinion they shall become more numerous than the Inhabitants of this the Mother Country.

If therefore a just, generous, and proper Union and Subordination be not established soon, how vain must the Attempt become, when the Colonies so become increased in Numbers, Wealth and Power ? Be persuaded therefore by an impartial and hearty Well-wisher to the Whole, without Exception, to set about the important Business, which has already been too long delayed ; it should certainly have been done either previous to, or concurrent with, the late Stamp-Act, and other Acts, imposing Duties on the Colonies, or on the Repeal thereof ; but, *Felix quam facient Aliena Pericula cantun.*

There is also another Consideration which well deserves the Attention of Government, viz. the Americans are very assiduous in procuring a great Number of the labouring Manufacturers of this their Mother Country, to go to America; such have been, while here, and would otherwise continue to be, in a Measure, the Source of our Trade, Wealth and Power, and for that Reason should as much as may be preserved here, without being suffered to emigrate, while this Country alone continues to bear the enormous Weight of the public Debt, contracted, and liable to be increased, in protecting and defending the Whole of these Dominions; while these Manufacturers continue here, they not only help to enrich their Country by their Manufacturers, but they also pay their Taxes, and consume the Articles whereon the Taxes are laid; so do they by emigrating from this Country, leave the whole Burthen, in that respect, on those who stay behind; and as soon as they reach the American Shore, will be taught, with the rest, that this Country has no Right to tax them, for the Purpose of raising a Revenue; and which, in a constitutional Sense, is quite true in the present Mode of Things: So does the King, or rather the three Estates of the Realm, by these Emigrations, (before a proper Subordination be formed) little less than lose so many profitable Subjects, who are thereby rendered of little or no Service to this Country, or rather the Reverse, by adding Strength to probable disloyal Efforts in America; and who, on the other Side of the Question, when they get there, have nothing to plead, as being beneficial to their Mother Country, but their continuing to wear so much of the same British Manufacturers, which they wore while here, as they cannot get up of their own when there; so making a Merit of Necessity, and that Necessity withal lessened, by such

Emigration

Emigration, since they were almost wholly our own Manufacturers, while here, but when transported to America, wear the same British and the same American Manufacturers.

It evidently appears therefore that until a proper constitutional Subordination, in respect of Taxation, &c. can be formed, and mutually agreed to, this Practice of Manufacturers being suffered to emigrate from Great Britain, and Ireland to America, ought to be discouraged, by a proper Act, imposing a suitable Fine, &c. on every Ship's Owner and Master, who takes such on Board, in order to transport; and proper Officers should be appointed at the last clearing Places of every considerable Port in Great Britain, and Ireland, but especially at Gravesend, or London, and at Bristol, Liverpool, Hull, Glasgow and Londonderry, &c. in order to effectually carry it into Execution.

In hope these Hints may be made some good Use of,

I am, &c.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracchurch-Street,
April 23, 1770.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

PERMIT me through the Channel of your useful and diffusive Paper, to propose an Amendment to the Matter thrown out by the great Lord Chatham, in answer to a late Address, published a few Days since, viz. thinking triennial Parliaments insufficient to answer the End intended thereby; he proposes that each County should elect and send one additional Member to represent them, which (if he means

to include Wales) would increase the Number in the House of Commons, by Addition of fifty-two Members ; now the Amendment I would propose, is that these fifty-two Members, in lieu of being deputed by the Counties of England and Wales, should be elected in, and sent from the several Assemblies of America, thereby happily removing their *Grand Complaint of being unconstitutionally Taxed by the Parliament, in which they are not represented*, and thereby affording them fair Means of co-operating with their Fellow Subjects, on this Side the Water, in making and mending the Laws, which must necessarily bind all Parts of these, British, Irish, and American Dominions, the Whole being subject to one and the same Sovereign Power, viz. the King, the Lords, and the Representatives of the common People, together composing the three Estates of the Realm, and by which happy Means, in all human Probability, the Danger of a ruinous *Civil War* may be happily prevented.

A M O R P A T R I Æ.

Gracechurch-Street,
June 5, 1770.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

BE pleased to insert in your diffusive Paper the Sentiments of a Professor of the Christian Religion, 'concerning the Multitude of untimely Deaths inflicted by Law, especially on such who, from Necessity, have been tempted to steal, in order to sustain Life, to either themselves or Families, as has been, 'tis presumed, sometimes the Case ; The Mercy extended to the Thief on the Cross may be justly considered, in Measure, as a Lesson of Humanity to the

the Lawgivers of the present Age. It is evident to me, that so far as consists with the Safety of the Public, and the Good of the State, Life should be spared to such poor Wretches, thereby allowing them Time for Repentance, and Amendment of Life, which, it may be fairly presumed, might often be happily experienced, if, in lieu of being hanged out of the Way, they were to be securely chained, or fettered, and in Company with unarmed Foot Soldiers, to repair the Roads, or improve barren Lands, such as Hounslow-Heath, &c. or otherwise to work in Coal Pits during Life. This might be a Means of humbling and meliorating their Spirits, keeping them at the same Time out of further Temptation to steal, and affording Opportunity of Repentance unto the Salvation of their Souls, and withal by doing such like Work, might thereby set at Liberty many other useful Hands now employed therein, who might in such Cases apply themselves to other useful Occupations, Trades and Manufactures, so benefiting the Public by their daily Labour.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street;
June 12, 1770.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

THE Letter signed Crito, in your Paper, and dated New-York Coffee-house, 9 June, is of too flagitious and heinous a Nature to pass unanswered, it evidently appearing thereby intended to rob the Innocent of his justly acquired Reputation, than which there is not in my Opinion a greater Crime, wilful Murder excepted; *Solomon* very justly

justly says, "a good Name is better than Riches," he therefore who robs me of my good Name, does me a much greater Injury than he could have done in robbing me of my Property, by a fraudulent and illegal Conduct.

1st. He asserts for Fact, that T. C. assured the Broker that he would be answerable for the three Gentlemen for whom he acted ; but I do affirm this to be an absolute Lye, having never agreed, either by Word of Mouth or Writing, to make myself accountable for them ; and as in the Course of five or six Years, they had often purchased and sold smaller Sums, in Virtue of the very same Kind of Orders, and every Time performed with Honour and Punctuallity, as most certainly would have been the Case last Year, respecting the 31,000*l.* East-India Stock, if the Sellers had acted fairly, or according to plain simple Law and Justice ; and 'twas only, and alone, on Account of the contrary being proved, in that Case, that the said 31,000*l.* was thrown up, and declared a void Sale, according to the clear express Act of 7, Geo. II*d.* made on Purpose to give Relief to the Injured in, and to prevent, such fraudulent Sales.

2d. Crito asserts again, that T. C. assured the Broker, on the Word, as they supposed, of a Man of Honour that he would be answerable, which T. C. again affirms to be wholly an absolute Untruth, and is ready to do so before any Magistrate, having asserted the very reverse to the Brokers, that he was not, nor would be, accountable for the Gentlemen for whom he acted, and by the Way I now affirm they, and these for whom they acted, had before gained above One Thousand Pounds upon the Ballance of the whole Transactions on their Account, before this
last

last Affair of the 31,000l. fell out. Crito again asserts, that T. C. sent one of his Friends to the Brokers, with Offers to give them 15,000l. if they would give a full Discharge, this is also false, it was the Friend deputed by, and sent from, the Brokers, waiting at a Tavern in T. C's. Neighbourhood, which, on the Part of the Brokers, first proposed to T. C. to accept 15,000l. but after altered his Mind, and used some Endeavours to get 2,000l. but on T. C's. Remonstrance of the great Injustice thereof, went back, and soon returned with not only a fresh Proposition to accept 18,000l. but also, at the same Time, brought in his Hand a Receipt in full from each Broker, for their proportionate Parts thereof, and advising me to agree to pay, which T. C. had not either promised or proposed before the Receipts were voluntarily exhibited to him, and which voluntarily identical Receipts T. C. has ready to shew to any who may desire it, and will at the same Time, if desired by the Concerned, affirm the Truth of this Matter, as now related, by T. C. before a Magistrate, as well as the Circumstances in T. C's. Letter, published in this Paper on the 6th and 8th Instant. Crito also asserts, that T. C. offered 18,000, and declared he would give no more whether they accepted it or not, which is also an absolute and entire Falseness, in every Word; and in respect of the Brokers having sold the Stock at so great Loss to themselves, T. C. is ready also to prove the absolute Falsity of Crito's Assertion, and that by the clear Evidence of the Concerned before T. C. and lawful Witnesses; on the contrary T. C. has been assured the Claimants received no more than 11s. 1d. in the Pound on their unlawful Claims, and which the Sum paid by T. C. would probably much about fully reach, if the sham Stock was sold again at a Market Price, about that Time; but which as before asserted, T. C. had never

never been informed of before this Day, who 'twas sold to, nor when, nor at what Price; one of the Brokers, this Day, having absolutely refused, before T. C. and Witness, to shew his Book, for such Proof, which the Act of 7, George II. absolutely requires; but on his then verbal Evidence, of the Price sold at, he has been over-paid by T. C. more than the real Loss.

Thus have I fairly, and truly, refuted the many wicked, and atrocious Charges, made by Crito, against the Reputation of said T. C. and whose Character through Life, will bear strick Examination, and who desires not to conceal, but now publicly calls on all his Enemies to prove any Thing whatever against him, to the Prejudice of a good Reputation, either in respect of Property or Morality, in any Part of his Life, being now near fifty-seven Years of Age; and not desiring to fight in the dark, as does Crito stab, shall chearfully sign my Name and Place of Abode to this Challenge, let Crito do the same of himself, if he dares; and I will immediately answer, or if he wickedly chooses to repeat his Wounds in the dark, under a fictitious Signature, I will nevertheless not fail to answer, and expose the Injustice and Malignity of his atrocious Conduct, arising from a depraved Head and rancourous Heart.

I perceive he is angry, and I think I clearly perceive the Cause of it, he being a common gambling Bear of the Stock, and finding his infamous Conduct, as such, cramp'd and frustrated by my Publications, makes good the Old Saying, *touch a gall'd Horse on the Back and he will kick.*

THOMAS CROWLEY.

Gracechurch-Street,
June 12, 1770.

P. S.

P. S. T. C. never in his Life sold any Stock of which he was not in Possession, at the Time of Sale, excepting Instances of selling the Stock of his Friends, of which they were in Possession at the Time of Sale.

Idem,

T. C.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

HAVING lodged in the Country the preceding Night,

I had not an Opportunity of reading your Paper of the 15th Instant, until 'twas too late to procure a Publication of an Answer to Crito the following Day, else should I not have delayed it one Hour. He, in his Letter of that Date, still continues to stab in the Dark, under a fictitious Signature, although so fairly challenged to give his real Name, a Justice which T. C. had a Right to demand, as Crito had the Effrontery to attack his personal Reputation, and that without a just Cause; and although an Author may, without Unfairness, use a Signature he makes choice of, when writing to the Public, for the Benefit of the Public, or so intended, yet I shall ever think it not to be at all reconciled to a Principle of Justice or Honour, to attack any Person's Reputation, without affording him Opportunity of a proper Defence, &c. by the Accuser signing his real Name, and especially when challenged so to do, as has Crito been in mine of the 13th Inst. in this Paper, signed by my real Name; nevertheless he still conceals, or wants to conceal, the Assassin under the same fictitious Signature,

P

a Reproach

a Reproach and Disgrace is it therefore to himself, to continue his Wounds in the Dark, and at the same Time to want Modesty and good Sense, to such a Degree, as to require T. C. to give him real Names of his Friends, without their Consent, and which would be entirely useless and of no Effect, and withal inconsistent, with Honour, in T. C. as inconsistent with former Promises, on similar Occasions, and could not possibly convey any Benefit to the useless Curiosity-mongers, or any other, having made myself answerable, although without any Promise of so doing.

Crito has the Modesty also to require T. C. to produce Attestation from the Mediator, who first on the Part of the Brokers offered to accept the same, before T. C. agreed, or proposed, to pay the same; I before, in mine of the 13th declared myself ready to affirm it, before any Magistrate, but his wicked and suspicious Mind not believing, now requires T. C. to produce the said Mediation, and Attestation of the Truth of T. C's Assertion. I do not think it fair to pay that Compliment to a fictitious Name, but if Crito will communicate his real Name and Place of Abode, T. C. engages to produce his Personal Evidence, of the absolute and entire Truth of T. C's. Assertion on that Head, T. C. having had, at the same Time, another Friend with him when the Affair was accommodated, which may serve for Proof to this suspicious and malignant Enemy,—signing *Crito*,—whose Reputation and Reformation I heartily wish, as I do that of every vile Incendiary, or common Detractor from Merit.

THOMAS CROWLEY.

Gracechurch-Street,

June 15, 1770.

P. S.

P. S. If Crito desires any further Information, let him communicate his real Name, &c. for my own Certainty therein, and he shall be readily answered, with Veracity.

Idem.

T. C.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

AS the unhappy Disputes between this and the American Parts of these Dominions, have been fomented and lengthened out to a dangerous Crisis, 'tis become so alarming to the future Safety and Welfare of all the Concerned, on both Sides the Atlantic, that it appears but reasonable, and a Part of Duty to the Public, to our Sovereign, to ourselves, and to our Posterity, for every one suitably qualified with rational Faculties, to take a suitable Part in endeavouring to convince others, as Occasion may offer, by fair Arguments, how far each has been, either through Prejudice, or Weakness of Judgment, misled into very erroneous Opinions; and in Consequence, some into very erroneous Conduct, which apparently threatens very direful Effects; to avoid which, 'tis very evident, much Reformation is absolutely necessary, on the Part of the Colonies, in general, but in some much more than others: Some happier Mode of Pursuit is also very evidently necessary, on the Part of Great Britain; to trace the Source of these unhappy Mistakes, on both Sides, may do something towards opening a Door of Hope for *Reconciliation*.

Let us consider then, little more than Discovery, &c. was done towards settling North America, before the last Century, during which, most of the now flourishing Colonies, were planned and settled. Happy would it have been if, in those Times, if Wisdom had been more manifest in the several Administrations, during that Period, by concerting a judicious Plan, and forming suitable Charters, whereby it might have been delineated, how every Colony was to contribute their proper, proportionate Quota of Supplies, towards the great Expence of the Navy and Army, which protects and defends them, after their becoming sufficiently increased in Population and Abilities, to bear Taxation for such absolutely necessary Purpose; and if a Clause had been sensibly inserted in each Charter, that on their arriving at a sufficient Degree of Abilities, in the Judgment of the three Estates of the Realm, or King, Lords, and Representatives of the Commons, in Parliament assembled; each Province should be liable to be taxed by the said Parliament, either in gross, adequate, proportionate Sums, to be raised among themselves, or else by particular Duties, as of late attempted; but not without a Right of Representation, being at the same Time granted them, to make the same consist with the constitutional Right of co-operating, in granting their own Money, for public Services, and attended with such wholesome Limitations, as to prevent the Danger of Impositions in future, beyond their reasonable Abilities: A well-concerted Scheme of this Sort, might happily have prevented all the Difficulties and Distresses, which for Want of such wholesome Provision, has fell out within the last five Years; a Retrospect of this Sort may afford Cause of Regret, but of little Service, if it does not, in some Measure, lead to the Means of Relief.

The very arduous Task, and very important Business, thus unhappily devolved on Government, in the present Case, of finding out and applying effectual Means of Relief, is indeed a very momentous Concern, and richly deserves their most earnest and most assiduous Attention.

'Tis my private Judgment, that it does not consist with the Honour of Government to tax any Colonies, of these Dominions, without making it, at the same Time, constitutional, by granting them the Right of such safe and honourable Representation in the Parliament, which should certainly represent every Colony taxed thereby, else cannot the Taxation be constitutional; but, at the same Time, Justice and Equity points out, that the Right granted, should be deemed a sufficient Warrant to tax, since a real Representation cannot take Place, without Cooperation and Consent of such Provinces, and which some of them now appear not disposed to make Choice of, lest they should become thereby liable to Taxation, without any Excuse to rebel against it; so it too evidently appears in the present unhappy Dilemma. That the Americans are averse to Taxation, because they are not represented; and averse to be represented, lest they should be taxed without Excuse, *a very unhappy Alternative indeed!* and not possible to be happily redressed, without much Reformation of Sentiments, and of Principle; 'tis well known they were Subjects before they emigrated from these Kingdoms, and it could nor be the Intention of Government, to loose Subjects, by their Emigrations, and such who have been, and are to be, protected and defended at an immense Expence, and who will not pay any Thing towards it, are not only ungrateful Subjects,

Subjects, but much worse than no Subjects at all, and very strongly border on Rebellion.

Upon the Whole, to leave them without Excuse, 'twould be a wise Measure to grant them the Right of an easy, safe, and honourable Representation, in the Parliament, in order that they may co-operate in making, mending, or objecting to every Law, that is to bind them; and as the Assembly of every Province would each have a Right to judge for themselves, some probably would judge it their Interest to accept it sooner than others; but on kind, benevolent and generous Conduct, being administered by Parliament and Ministry, towards such who first come into the happy Measure, every one of the Provinces would find it their true and lasting Interest, to accept and approve the Measure, which would infallibly constitute their Security, lengthen out Tranquillity, and give mutual Stability, both to European and American Parts of the same Sovereign's Dominions; 'twould prove the only happy Means of extirpating the mischievous and dreadful Passion for, and Prospect of, a Struggle for Independence, which does otherwise manifestly impend, and which may probably be in a great Measure, the Ruin of both, if woefully experienced; 'tis therefore the Duty of every Minister and Subject, to do his Part, in Proportion, to the Abilities, God has given him, to bend his Mind, and exert his Endeavours, to reconcile suspicious Apprehensions, and quarrelsome Tempers, and to promote Concord, and mutual Regard to each others Welfare, before it be too late.

A M O R P A T R I Æ

*Gracechurch-Street,
June 16, 1770.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger:

*The Crime of Defamation
Is the Plague of this Nation.*

CROWLEY.

IT is generally allowed, the Constitution of this Government is the best calculated of any, for the Security of the Subject, and that not only in respect of his Property, but also in respect of Liberty of Conscience, and Constitutional Liberty ; in regard of his Person and Conduct, including the Liberty of the Press, which latter is of great Importance to the Welfare of the Whole, to the Promotion of Truth, and to the effectual Support and Continuance of those great Blessings.

But, at the same Time, while we have great Reason to be thankful, as Englishmen, for the Enjoyment of these transcendant Advantages above neighbouring Nations, it should certainly be the Duty of every sensible Man to a void and discourage the *Abuse* of this last mentioned *Privilege, the Liberty of the Press*, which has of late been so enormous, as to make it absolutely necessary, on the Part of Government, to restrain by adequate Punishment, some of the Perpetrators of so dangerous an Abuse, and if from the Necessity of the Case, in order to preserve Peace and Reputation, some Steps are become needful for Government to take, which seem rather dangerous to the great Privilege in Question, the Liberty of the Press: These Slanders who have, without Merit or Shame, publicly traduced the highest and best of Characters in the wicked Hopes of supplanting the Possessors, and of gratifying their vile Ambition

bition and Thirst of Power, should consider themselves as the Cause why the Courts of Justice put a Stop to the Abuse of the Press, which actually threatens Danger to the State, under the foolish, the flimsy Pretence of preserving it; a folly apparently arising from the Depravation of the noble Principle of Reason, rather than any Regard to true Constitutional Liberty, which, on a candid Survey, it does not appear our benevolent Monarch has ever desired, or attempted to infringe; and as I have been free in giving my Opinion of Defamation, I propose to quote some Passages from the too much neglected Records, the sacred Scriptures of Truth, to strengthen and justify the Sentiments herein culcated, with a Desire of doing Good, and which I sincerely wish may serve for a happy Lesson, leading to *Reformation*.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
June 19, 1770.

Prov. x. 18. He that hideth hatred with Lying Lips, and he that uttereth Slander, is a Fool

Psaln ci. 5. Who so privily slandereth his Neighbour, him will God cut off.

Jerem. vi 28. Take ye heed every one of his Neighbour, and trust ye not in any Brother, for every Brother will utterly Supplant, every Neighbour will walk with Slanders.

Rom. ii. 5. After thy Hardness and impenitent Heart, treasurest up unto thyself Wrath against the Day of Wrath,

Wrath, and Revelation of the righteous Judgment of God.

6 Who will render to every Man according to his Deeds.

To Lord N. and Lord H.

May it please your Lordships,

BEING conscious of having no other Motive, than the simple Flowings of Benevolence towards my Country, and hearty Desires for the Peace and Safety of all the King's Dominions, and the good Consequences thereof, I am therefore emboldened to throw out some Hints, which appear to me needful to be improved on by his Majesty's Ministers, pardon the Presumption: But as 'tis a Matter of great Magnitude, if it should be found of the least Utility, or only tending to confirm your own Sentiments, I am persuaded of your Candour in, at least, admitting my Motive to apologize for this Attempt.

The Dispute with the Americans appears manifestly to be now becoming, what I have long foreseen, big with impending direful Events, if not soon happily assuaged, and which, however easy it might have been prevented five or six Years ago, is now become a very difficult Point to accommodate; however I could wish it to be wisely and nobly resolved; the more difficult, the more Honour in adjusting, and if the Attempt should after all become frustrated, the very Attempt itself, if conducted with Wisdom, will be noble, benevolent, and deserving the utmost

Q

Praise

Praise from the Wise and Good, in every Part of these extended Dominions.

I have composed my Sentiments in the inclosed Paper ; but in regard what particularly seems necessary in the present State of Sedition at Boston; and other Places, where ingrateful Combinations, and Conduct, are now become so alarming, I apprehend that a *Number of twenty Gun Ships and Sloops of War* are, or will be, necessary at the Mouths of all the American principal Rivers, in order to effectually prevent all Contraband Trade, and their importing Gun Powder and Guns, which will do more towards distressing them, and towards the Return of their commercial Connection, with their Parent Country, than 10,000 Troops, altho' these latter may possibly become needful to preserve the Custom-house Officers, their Lives and Safety, in the Discharge of their Duty ; and I cannot help thinking that if good Discipline should be enforced generally among the Troops, an evident Appearance of sufficient Power, hanging over their Heads, may probably become necessary, and may, if timely administered, prevent the woeful Necessity of Bloodshed, by awing them into Fear, since they too generally appear to be meanly deficient, in regard of that much better Motive, Duty and Gratitude.

I am, with all due Deference,

A Well-wisher to my King and Country,

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
June 16, 1770.

*To the Printer of the Public Ledger.**Audi Vocem Veritatis.*

MR. Printer, permit me through the Channel of your diffusive Paper, to reason with the unhappily mistaken Writers, who remonstrate in Favour of the Bostonians, &c. and do at large, and without Exception, assert that the Parliament, alias the three Estates of the Realm, in Parliament assembled, have no Right at all to impose Revenue Taxes on their American Subjects, most of whom, either emigrated from hence, or are the Descendants of such, who have done so, and who, before permitted to emigrate, were in their own Opinion, Subjects, bound by the Laws of the supreme Legislative Power of this Country. They assert, having carried over with them, all the Rights of Englishmen, one Principle whereof, is that of being Taxed by their own Representatives: Now as I am always glad to undeceive the Misted in Judgment, when their Welfare is at Stake, I would recommend them calmly to consider, that altho' they have been allowed by their Charters to raise Taxes among themselves, for Purposes of their particular Provincial Concerns, none of their Charters have ever contained any expressed or intended Exemption from the Parliament, using a Right of Legislation or Taxation over any of the Colonists, after Emigration and settling in America, for the Purpose of a reasonable Quota towards Protection; therefore as they assert carrying over with them all the Rights of Englishmen, let them wisely consider also, before it be too late, they also carried over with them at the same Time, their Allegiance, as Subjects, the same as when here, and if any foolishly presume to deny this, I am con-

ident they will (on serious Consideration) find themselves utterly at a Loss to find out the Manner, or Time, of their becoming legally emancipated from the Allegiance of Subjects, in respect of Taxation.

It appears then, in most of their Remonstrances, and Allegations, that their only grand Grievance, properly deemed unconstitutional, is their not being now represented in the Parliament, as they were before their voluntary Emigration from hence, this I freely acknowledge to be really unconstitutional; and if they had (agreeable to several Precedents, in similar Cases in Great Britain) petitioned for such Representation from America, in the Parliament of Great Britain, &c. and had been deny'd that constitutional Privilege, I should then have thought their Objection to Taxation constitutionally valid, and deserving Redress; but as a Voyage from America is as easy and practicable, and not more expensive, than a Journey from some Parts of Scotland; and as it does not appear so far, that the Americans have asked for a Representation, in order to enjoy the Privilege of Co-operation, in making and amending the Laws, which must necessarily bind them; it is under this Consideration, evidently very unreasonable of them to expect to be exempt from Taxation by Parliament, towards the Expence of general Protection and Defence: Under that specious Pretence of not being represented, when it appears they do not desire it, but rather plead off, in order to preserve their present vague Pretence of being exempt from Taxation; I would, for their own Safety, recommend them to consider maturely, that in Consequence of War, entered into for their Protection and Defence, this Nation has expended more than one Hundred Million of Money Sterling, and being on Loan, is now attended with an annual Interest of near 4,000,000, which

which is wholly raised on the Inhabitants of Great Britain, except the mere Trifles coming from American Duties, &c.

So when of late they wanted the essential Benefit of Protection, against the Military Attempts of the French and Indians, they earnestly sued to Great Britain for the Aid of the Navy and Military, which was generously, nobly, and effectually granted them by the Mother Country, at an amazing Expence; but now when so very small a Part of the annual Interest of the Monies of Course borrowed on that very Account, (and the unavoidable Consequences thereof) becomes in Question, as a small Quota to be raised by them in return; they, to their Shame be it spoken, make an insuperable Mountain of Ingratitude, in remonstrating against so very small a Tax, towards re-imbursing Government, in so very small a Proportion; and in respect of the Merchants of Great Britain, who have so assiduously laboured, on the Behalf of the Americans, by interceding with Government on their Behalf; why truly they are ingratefully rewarded by the Combinations of Non-importation, entered into in order to punish their Benefactors, altho' they could not do it without punishing themselves also: Are these the Sons of the good Old Mother, who has so affectionably cherish'd them? and do they so sorrowfully deserve the old Lamentation? "I have nourished and brought up Children, and they have rebelled against me, &c.

Let them also consider that all the Duties in America, now by Acts of Parliament laid on, do not amount to a twentieth Part of the said annual Interest, altho' 'tis computed that America contains at least one fourth Part as many Inhabitants,

bitants, as does Great Britain; and let them also consider that altho' some Profit has arisen to Great Britain by the Commerce, occasioned by the Americans wearing British Manufactures, yet 'tis but Justice also to consider that they were the very same Manufacturers here, before their Emigration; and therefore is there not so much Merit in it as they plead for, and withal the whole Export of British Manufactures, in gross Sums, do not amount to so much as the Naval and Military Expence, which has during thirty Years past, arose and been defrayed by this Nation, in protecting and defending them, and the Consequences thereof.

So on the Whole, although they have a Right to require a Representation, they have not an equitable Right to be exempt from an equitable Taxation, towards their Protection; I am therefore, as their hearty Well-wisher, desirous of a Representation taking Place, but duly limited, so as to make it safe and honourable for Great Britain to grant, and for America to accept, and which may very well be happily reconciled to the Honour, Prosperity, and Security of both, and of all our gracious King's Dominions. At the same Time, if the Americans should continue to decline making such Request for Representation, I for one do presume to wish, that Government may graciously and wisely condescend so far, as to make a Law to grant it to such Provinces, as may suitably petition for the same; then will Parliament be more constitutionally justified in imposing on them an equitable Taxation, and that whether the several Provinces choose to have it made constitutional, by such Representation or not; and, by degrees, 'tis probable all the Provinces will become convinced of the Safety and Utility of such a wise, generous, and benevolent bounded Right

Right of Representation, as many of their Well-wishers here would have them to obtain and enjoy.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
Jan 3, 1770.

P. S. The Colonists will also do well to consider, that the Profits of Trade, center with the Merchants, Traders and Manufacturers, and that 'tis *Taxes alone* that accrue to Government, on Behalf of the Public, towards the Support of the Navy and Army, which protects the Whole.

Idem,

A. P.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

THE Contest of the pretended Patriots of this Age, has been so violently carried on, and lengthened out, beyond all Bounds of good Sense, or Moderation; that it is become a Matter of some Importance to the whole Nation, to distinguish between the true sterling, virtuous, and conscientious Patriots, and the pretended ones: The first have ever the true mutual Interest of their King and Country at Heart, desirous of contributing their Mite towards uniting and cementing their common Good and Security, agreeable to the main End of this happiest of Constitutions; on the contrary, the false Patriots, under a Pretence of seeking or securing the Liberty of the Subject, have
 at

at Bottom their own ambitious Views and unfair Self-interest, for a ruling Motive to their Actions; and if the intelligent Observers of their Speeches and Writings, compare them properly, with their Principles, in Respect of Morality and Conduct in private Life, it will be no very difficult Matter to discover of which Sort they are. “ The “ Tree is known by its Fruit,” and by their Fruits ye shall know them; he that is truly an honest, conscientious Man in one Thing is so also in another, or in all his Concerns, else must his Principles be wavering, unsteady, and inconsistent; therefore it is no Want of Charity to judge of the Sincerity or Insincerity of every one who professeth Patriotism, from such Parts of their Conduct, as prove their principles in Respect of Virtue, true Honour and Honesty. I can never believe that any Man that is without conscientious Honesty towards his *God*, and towards his *Creditors*, can have at the same Time in his Possession, the true genuine, virtuous, and noble Principle of disinterested *patriotic Love of his Country*, and if not, it will be no great Difficulty to discover from the pretended Patriots ruling Passions delineated in his Course of Life, from what other worse Source his Pretensions to Patriotism really arise: A Key of this Sort is of great Use to distinguish between the Virtuous and the Vile, between the Wise and Good, and the Disinterested and Ambitious. “ By their Fruits ye may know them”, and expect not to gather Grapes of Thorns, or Figs of Thistles: Expect not that he who from a Principle of Ambition, Thrift of Power, Covetousness, or other bad Motive, takes ungenerous, uncandid, and abusive Means to supplant Ministers, in order to get into Places of Profit themselves, can ever, at the same Time, have the true genuine, *public Spirit*, for a Motive; no, be assured, candid Reader, it is *counterfeit*, and not the

the true Patriotism, which so basely usurps a Character that properly deserved, does Honour to human Nature; but which *noble Principle*, be assured will never prompt any Man to insult a *good King*, or a good Minister, whom he has made Choice of, to ease or moderate the Burthen of State Affairs, in a Nation whose Interest and Concerns are so very extensive and important, as are those of this Country in all the four Quarters of the Globe; it will not teach him to rob any Man, much less his Sovereign, of a justly acquired good Name, which in a wise Man's Estimation is better than Riches: To rob the King of his Honour, and of his Subjects Love, is therefore the worst of Villainy; and as such can never arise from virtuous Patriotism. "By their Fruits ye shall know them", and knowing, I hope you will be wise enough, and kind enough to yourselves, to shun them, as a Disgrace to human Nature, the very Contrary of the true genuine Patriot.

I am not without some hope, that this their true Picture, may have the happy Effect, of proving an Eye-salve, to clear their Sight of false Visions, and conduce to bring them to sober Sense, and a rational peaceable Conduct. Then may we hope for a Coalition; and the happy Consequences, which may be reasonably expected therefrom, giving Weight and effectual Powers to Government, so extremely necessary, at this critical Juncture.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
July 13, 1770.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

WHILE too many are unhappily pursuing and indulging their Passions, I am led to shew them the very great Danger thereof, to themselves and to Posterity ; in order to which, let us calmly consider the Source of Action, and the Means of correcting Errors. I suppose it will be readily allowed by the Intelligent, that the Brain is to the nervous Fluid, what the Heart is to the Blood (being under Providence the Source of Action to the Mind and Body) and, I hope, it will also be as readily allowed that “a good Conscience is to the Soul, what Health is to the Body ; and that it will therefore be of the utmost Importance to our well-being in this State of Probation, to adopt the necessary Means of restoring and preserving *Health*, both *mental* and *corporeal*.”

To proceed then, as Sincerity and Virtue, are effectual in constituting a good Conscience, and as Temperance and a due Proportion of Exercise, are also effectual, to the constituting of corporal Health, (Accidents and chronic Cases excepted) how open, and how practicable, is the Road which leads to Human Felicity ! Let it therefore be your Concern, my Countrymen, to exercise that noble Principle of *Reason*, which the all-wise God has given you, for the benevolent Purpose of conducting you through the Vicissitudes and Dangers, annexed to human Affairs, in this transitory Life. This noble Principle, this distinguishing Character of Man, as raising him above every other Animal Being, in this terrestrial Creation, will, if rightly attended to, become, through the Divine Aid, a sufficient Monitor to instruct you in your several relative Duties and Concerns,

and

and will also, if rightly attended to, become instrumentally under God, your best Physician, in leading you to that best of Friends, under God, *a good Conscience*, so constituting Health to the Mind ; and also will it lead you, if duly regarded, into the various happy Branches of *sound Morality*, to generally effectual, in the Preservation of Health ; so may your Reason, through the Grace of God, become agreeable to the pure Intention of the benevolent Creator, a Source of human Bliss : Happily tending also to preserve you through this terrestrial Scene of Probation, to future Bliss in the Mansions of Glory. But, on the Contrary, if you should unhappily continue to indulge Covetousness (contrary to the Tenth Commandment, see 20th. Chap. Exodus) to indulge Vices or Immoralities, of any other Kind, contrary to the other Divine Commandments, in the same Chapter, such Vices will produce those unhappy Effects, which Providence has established in the Nature of Things, as Punishments ; they will feel Indulgence, instead of Health, attended with Disease, both mental and corporeal ; it will enfeeble, and, in a Degree, obscure that Principle which was implanted by our Creator, to promote human Excellence, and, instead of blissful *Peace of Mind*. will woefully substitute *Discord and Gloom*, strongly tending to ingender Misery, both here and hereafter ; wherefore, in Imitation of the *Sacred Record*, “ I this Day set before you Life and Death, choose you Life and Live.” Then may you find the Faculties of your Soul ennobled with all the Christian Graces, to love God above all, and to love yourselves, and your Fellow Creatures, in the best Sense ; then will ye do justly, love Mercy, and walk humbly ; then will ye become dutiful and peaceable Subjects to the Legislative Powers ; and then will ye become good Neighbours, and good Christians ; and will not fail of obtaining the exalted

Blessings, so divinely promised in that best of Sermons from the Mount (see Matthew, 5, 6, and 7 Chapters) which I wish every one seriously to peruse.

So wisheth, and so prayeth,

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*From my Country Retreat,
Tottenham, July 13, 1770.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

IT is of much Importance at this Time, for every Well-wisher to the Welfare and Prosperity of the Nation, sensibly to distinguish between *imaginary*, and *real* Grievances; between the imbroiling, discontented, violent Declamations of the *Outs*, arising from mortified Self-Love; and the *real Dangers*, which do unhappily subsist. It evidently appears to me, that the Multitude of violent Out-cries about the Middlesex Election, are in general of the former Kind: To convince the candid Reader thereof, I recommend a dispassionate Consideration, that the *Liberty Party*, altho' earnestly advised by the moderate and impartial, to put up some other, who was not any Way incapacitated from taking his Seat legally, in the House of Commons, in order that they might have a Man of their own Choice to represent them; yet they pertinaciously persisted in electing and returning a disqualified Person; so willfully rendering their Votes a Nullity; and as they absolutely refused putting up any other than Wilkes, and as there was a constitutional, an absolute Necessity of having a second Representative for the County, in Question, the Court
Party

Party were by this Conduct of the Liberty Party under an absolute Necessity of putting up and electing another, who being legally qualified, if he had been elected by never so few legal Votes, must inevitably have become the *sitting Member*, and that through such mistaken Conduct of the Liberty Party themselves; so are not the Court Party constitutionally Blame-worthy, on account of Lutterell becoming legally elected, and taking his Seat accordingly. This, therefore, appears only a merely imaginary Grievance, wherein the Liberty of the Subject is not at all endangered, nor in the Incapacitation of Wilkes neither, any more than it is by the Determination of a Court of Judicature against a guilty Felon, lest an innocent Man should, at another Time, become condemned in the same Court: On the Contrary, our greatest real Grievance appears to have arisen from the the mistaken Conduct of several *former* Ministers; one, in unconstitutionally imposing, or causing Stamp Duties on American Subjects, without, at the same Time, making it constitutional, by granting them a safe and honourable Representation, in order that they might in all future Occasions constitutionally co-operate, in mending and making every Law, necessarily binding them for the Good and Safety of the Whole: *Another*, altho' with good apparent Design, too warmly, unwisely asserting in Parliament, that this Government had no Right to tax America, altho' towards the Expence of the Navy and Army, which did, and absolutely must, necessarily protect them in common with all other Subjects of these Dominions: *A third*, in laying other Duties on America, unwisely declared *for the Purpose of raising a Revenue*, and that without making it constitutional, or granting them the Right of Co-operations in future: The very unhappy Consequences of these unconstitutional Grievances, now
very

very unfortunately Causes Government to become a very *arduous Task*, and if the King and present Ministry should effect a happy Accommodation, agreeable to the *true Genius* of the *British Constitution*, they will therein distinguish themselves the most *glorious real Patriots*, that have blessed this Nation since the Revolution.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Graccchurch-Street,
July 18, 1770.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger:

THE two late Decisions by the Jurymen of London, having established the *Liberty of the Press*, it will now become the proper Concern of every real Patriot, to avoid, and discourage, the very great and flagitious Danger of *abusing* that *valuable Liberty*, since 'tis the Duty of every Government to protect injured Innocence; and if the ambitious and revengeful are suffered, with Impunity to discharge their Envy and Malice, in attacking and aspersing, even the most exalted, and most respectful Characters; it may in Time, and in Consequence, become the proper Concern of Government, to restrain such virulent Abuse, lest it should become destructive of the national Good, by preventing the best and most suitably qualify'd Men, from accepting the principal Departments of Government; which would be a very great national Disadvantage, and being so, Government may become justifiable, in Reason and true Policy, in using effectual Endeavours to mitigate these Abuses, by an Act of Parliament, to oblige every Publisher,

sher, who presumes to attack the Character and Reputation of any in the public Papers, to affix to his Declamation, his own proper Name and Place of Abode, in order that the Innocent, Injured thereby, in the most tender Part, their Reputation; may know where to find his Accuser, and thereby have it in his Power, to take suitable Means of doing his Character Justice, and of punishing the Delinquent; and however any Writer may, with Reason, be at Liberty to make use of any Signature he makes Choice of, while he keeps to general Terms, and manifests a Regard to the public Good: It does strongly appear to me that, in Point of Honour and strict Justice, no Man ought to be indulged in a legal Liberty of personal Abuse, or robbing any innocent Man of his Reputation, without, at the same Time, making himself responsible, by signing his own Name and Place of Abode, in order that the Innocent and Injured may know how to do his Character suitable Justice, wherefore suffer me to exhort every Delinquent, to forbear their malevolent and cruel *Injustice*, in robbing the Innocent of a justly acquired Reputation, by malicious Publications, lest it should, from the Necessity, thereby entail'd, of administering Justice to the Innocent; become the Duty of Government so to restrain the Press, in which Case the Impartial and Judicious will look to the Cause, as the Object, for blame, and not to the necessary Effect.

AMOR PATRIÆ

Gracechurch-Street,
July 27, 1770.

To

To His M A J E S T Y.

Most Gracious *and* Benevolent Sovereign,

May it please your Majesty, . . .

ANIMATED with a sincere and ardent Desire to contribute my Mite towards the Peace and Security of my King and Country, and that of your Dominions in general; I am from thence emboldened to lay before your Majesty, for your paternal and gracious Consideration, as the common Father of all your People, in these extended Dominions, the Sentiments of one of your Majesty's loyal, private Subjects, who hath, in the Course of long Experience, obtained a competent general Knowledge, of the several and mutual Interests, and Claims, of the Mother Country, and their Colonies, &c.

My Reliance on your Majesty's Clemency, is too well grounded, to fear your Royal Displeasure, on Account of this well-meant, extensive Attempt, I will therefore confidently hope your Majesty's Pardon, and Attention to the inclosed Plan.—I know my Duty better than to trespass on your Majesty's Patience, therefore conclude, with the sincerest cordial Affection, for your Majesty's princely Virtues,

Your Majesty's loyal Subject,

THOMAS CROWLEY.

Gracechurch-Street,
Dec. 10, 1770.

follows inclosed

To

To those whom it most immediately concerns, in
 regard of their several Stations, in the LEGIS-
 LATURE and ADMINISTRATION.

Memorial *and* Plan of Union,

*Presented to his Majesty, Ministers, and the
 Privy - Council.*

SUFFER it to take Place and remain on your Minds, as
 an important Truth, that the jarring Interests, and want
 of Unity, between Great Britain and her Colonies, is the grand
 Foundation, whereon the Enemies of these once happy Do-
 minions, build their Prospect, and Confidence of Success
 against us, and that nothing would more strongly, or more
 happily tend, to remove such threatening Prospect and
 Confidence; and in lieu thereof to substitute, on the Part
 of our Enemies, a permanent Dread, or Fear of offending
 in future, than a happy and durable Union, between the
 Mother Country and her Colonies, including Ireland there-
 with. To proceed then, if this be granted, as in general
 doth evidently appear to be the Case, it will follow of
 Course, that the proper and essential Business of Govern-
 ment, doth much consist in planing and drawing into Prac-
 tice, the wisest, safest, and most permanent Mode of con-
 ciliating the many internal Difficulties, now subsisting, by
 effectually removing the Grounds thereof, so far as appears

to the Intelligent and Candid, and many such there are, on both Sides, who very clearly perceive that the Mode and Proportion of AMERICAN TAXATION, has never yet been wisely modelled, nor made constitutional, so as to be of a Piece with the Principles of the British Constitution, in general, respecting Representation and consequent Taxation ; nor by any other Means made safe, or honourable, for the Colonies, by Act of Assembly, to adopt ; and every arbitrary, or unconstitutional Mode, or Manner, of drawing Supplies from them, which they cannot safely and honourably adopt, will increase the Danger of Quarrel and Ruin, on both Sides. It is therefore of much Importance to both, mutually, that a Mode of Union and Taxation, as well as regulating their Trade, should be enacted and practised, which would prove safe and honourable to the Whole, so laying the true and rational Foundation of Peace and Concord, throughout these Dominions.

To make it constitutional and honourable, the Colonies should have proper Members of their own, to represent them in Parliament, so that they may, in future thereby co-operate in making the Laws of Taxation and Legislation, which must necessarily bind them ; but then to make it also safe for the Colonies to accept the Honour of Representation, it evidently appears, some Barrier must be enacted to bound the Right of Parliamentary Taxation over the Colonies, else would they be liable by being, on every Occasion, outnumbered, to be taxed too high, beyond their reasonable Abilities, after the Right once admitted ; so that taking in the Consideration of future Consequences, and the Temper and Benevolence of future Kings, and future Ministers, &c. as may be found to arise in the Course of Time, it is but reasonable, on Behalf of the Colonies, that this Right of
Taxation

Taxation should be so happily bounded, as that it may not be in the Power of Parliament, in succeeding Times, to tax America, or Ireland, **APART**, or separately from Great Britain, to raise a Revenue, or for Protection ; nor without, at the same Time, in the same Acts, and in the same Mode, taxing the British Subjects also ; without such Barrier, or some other adequate Method, so as to effectually prevent the Americans and Irish, from being **TAXED APART** from the British, or to prevent the Taxes laid, or to be laid, on America and Ireland, from exceeding certain limited Proportions, to be previously agreed on, they will never think themselves safe, in accepting a Representation, nor yet will they be content to be taxed by Parliament without it ; and as it is evidently just and reasonable, they should somehow **LEGALLY CONTRIBUTE** their proportionate Quota of Supplies, towards general Protection and Defence, a wise Union, by Representation, evidently appears the proper Means ; and the Duties apart, necessarily arising, by regulating their Trade, to be applied to their own particular Provincial Concerns, for the Support of Civil Government, &c. and I do presume, no general Taxation to be made common to the British, American, and Irish Subjects, in one and the same Act, can be devised so proper, as that heretofore pointed out by the Author of these Lines, viz. A Pound Rate on their real and personal Estates, a proper Mode of Proof, being first adopted, *i. e.* Every Parishoner, who hath served the Office of Church-Warder, or Overseer of the Poor, in each Parish, separately ; together with the Assessors, and Collectors of the Land-Tax, for the preceeding Year, in the District, to be commissioned to assess, and properly impowered to ballot, taking the medium Valuation ; but with this Proviso, if any one should appear to be immoderately excessive, his Vote to be rejected, by the

Majority of the Rest ; and after such Decision, if any Parishioner should find himself aggrieved, in being over-valued, beyond his real Abilities, he should be indulged with the Liberty of swearing off, and in Consequence, to a rational Alleviation, to be decided by the same Assessors. And as it is always found good Policy, to make every new Measure of Importance, as moderate and equitable, as the Nature of the Case, for the Time being, will, with Prudence, admit, I do presume, that such a general Tax, of only **ONE SHILLING** in the Pound, equitably and justly assessed, according to the original Intention of the present disproportionate Assessment, commonly called the Land-Tax in England, would bring in a larger Revenue, than Three Shillings in the Pound doth, in the hitherto practised, partial, unequitable Mode, in this Country.

I therefore humbly recommend the following Plan of Union and Representation to be seriously considered.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
Dec. 10, 1770.

10

A PLAN

A PLAN OF UNION, BY ADMITTING REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE AMERICAN COLONIES, AND FROM IRELAND, INTO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

A M E R I C A.

Massachusetts-Bay }
 Pennsylvania } each 4 — 20
 Virginia }
 South Carolina }
 Jamaica }

New York }
 Maryland } each 3 — 9
 Canada }

Connecticut }
 E. and W. Jerseys } each 2 — 4

New Hampshire }
 Nova Scotia }
 Rhode Island }
 Lower Counties }
 of Pennsylvania } each 1 — 8
 Georgia }
 East Florida }
 West Florida }
 North Carolina }

Barbadoes }
 Antigua } ditto — 4
 St. Christopher's }
 Bahama }

Bermuda }
 Montserrat } to choose in 1
 Nevis } Rotation

Grenada's 2
 Newfoundland and St. John's 1
 Dominica, St. Vincent's }
 and Tobago, to choose } 1
 in Rotation }

Commons 50

Lords, for the principal
 Provinces and Islands,
 as soon as found con-
 venient to be created
 by the Royal Preroga-
 tive } 10

I R E L A N D.

Each Province four Members 16
 Dublin 2

Cork }
 Kinsale }
 Waterford }
 Limerick } each 1 — 7
 Kilkenny }
 Wicklow }
 Wexford }

Dundalk }
 Drogheda } 2
 Youghall }

Galway }
 Belfast } each 1 — 3
 Londonderry }

30

And a proportionate Num-
 ber of Lords, to be elect-
 ed by the Irish Lords from } 10
 among themselves }

American Commons 50
 Lords 10
 Irish Commons 30
 Lords 10

100

C O N

. CONDITIONS PROPOSED.

1. **T**HESE Representatives may be elected, by each Assembly, from among themselves, and also by the Parliament, of Ireland, from among themselves, if to them more eligible than the particular local Elections, proposed in the Plan.

2d. It may be needful to exempt them from the same Qualifications, which are the Condition of British Members, enjoying a Seat in Parliament, respecting the Value of their real Estates.

3d. It may be needful to insert a Clause, in the proposed Act of Union, that on the dissolving any Parliament, the same Member, which represented America, in such dissolved Parliament, should continue to represent them in the next ensuing, until others are returned from their respective Constituents, in lieu thereof.

4th. It may be needful that a special Distance of Time be allowed in the new Writs, for American Members, beyond the usual Time in Great Britain, perhaps six Months.

5th. The Residence (in or near London) of ever American Merchant, may be required, to be constantly left, in Writing, with the Speaker of the House of Commons, for the Time being.

6th. In order to prevent the evil Effect of any Mistrust of the Colonies, being liable to be over burthened with Taxes, beyond

beyond their reasonable Abilities, after Representation takes Place ; it would be wise and conciliating to enact, in the proposed *Act*, granting the Honour of Representation, that neither America, nor Ireland, shall be afterwards liable to be taxed seperately, or a Part, from the British, towards raising a Revenue, or for general Protection or Defence ; this, it is humbly conceived, would be much wiser than to fix any limited Sums, on account of the probable growing Population and Abilities of America, in future ; and altho' it might appear an Indignity to the supreme legislative Power, to be limited by her own Subjects ; it nevertheless would be a Manifestation of Wisdom, Justice, and Prudence, for the said supreme Power so to limit its own Operations, for the Peace, Safety, and Satisfaction of the Public, and of every Part of these Dominions, inasmuch as it would strongly, and happily tend to make the proposed Union eligible, and durable, to *general Content mutually*, which happy Cement, would be the very best Security to the Whole.

7th. It is not unlikely, that the Americans may want some Restrictions to be taken off their maritime and inland Trade, which may become a necessary Consideration, under due Regard to the principal End of colonizing ; but it should at all Events be stipulated, that the Act of Navigation should be maintained, in Favour of the Mother Country, in regard of the enormous Expence, she has already incurred, in settling, protecting and defending the Plantations, &c. as also on Account of Emigration, having without such Limitations, too strong a Tendency to weaken and impoverish the Parent Country, so running out from themselves, and otherwise setting up a separate Interest of opposite Principles.

8th. The Duties apart, necessarily arising in the Colonies, from Acts of Parliament, to regulate their Trade, may be applied to the particular Uses of each Province apart, for the Purpose of defraying the Charges of civil Government, and other local, particular, provincial, evil Concerns; so removing the Distrust of Dread, either to accept the Honour of Representation, or to adopt the Right of parliamentary Taxation without it, and without Limitation.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Dec. 10, 1770.*

P. S. It may be proper to allow each Colony to send either the whole Number allowed of, or a smaller Number, at their Option, if any should choose to save Expence.

Note, This Plan was also communicated to the Merchants, both here and there, as soon after the Date thereof, as was convenient.

To Lord H.

May it please your Lordship,

ANIMATED with the Love of my Country, and cordial Regard for her Welfare, I have presumed to compose the foregoing Performance, one Copy of which I now send for your Lordship's Perusal, and I hope it may be honoured with serious Attention; mend it, and make it as much better as possible, but slight it not; I hope your Lordship

ship has since last Conference, made a Point of it, to consider the Difference between an equitable Right, and a constitutional Right, in respect of Taxation, and that 'tis the Line which constitutes the Difference, between an arbitrary Government, and a British, free Government, in respect of Taxation ; and be pleased further to consider, that if the Colonies were to admit, that the Parliament hath a Right to tax the Americans and Irish, *apart*, from the British Subjects, or without, at the same Time, and in the same Acts of Parliament, and in the same Mode, and Proportion, taxing the British Subjects also, they, the Irish and Americans, would be destitute of that good Security, which every County in England hath, viz. the Representatives of all the rest, cannot tax any one County without, at the same Time, and in the same Proportion, taxing themselves also, which is quite a sufficient Barrier from Apprehensions of any one County, being imposed on beyond their Abilities; but which very good Security, the Americans are, in their present State, destitute of, and therefore will never think it safe to admit the Right, even in the most trifling Sum, lest it should intail on them, a Subjection to a further unlimited, and so to them, arbitrary Taxation, to any Amount, to which Parliament might after think fit to subjugate them, towards the Revenue ; and the enormous Size of the Public Debts considered, there appears no rational Hope of their submitting, with Content, without Representative Right granted, and that so really bounded, as that they may know, beforehand, what Proportion they are to become liable to, compared with the British Subject ; and 'tis very manifest to the Impartial, Reasoning-well, that they cannot, with good Policy, acknowledge the Right of Taxation, without an adequate Representation, nor without some Kind of Munition, to bound that Right, after Representation takes Place ;

and 'tis very clear, that with these two Privileges (both which the British Subjects are very secure in) the Colonists will not, in respect of Taxation, enjoy the Privileges of Englishmen, as distinguished from the Subjects of an absolute Monarch, it being nearly the same to them (if not so regulated) whether they are taxed by an arbitrary Parliament, or an arbitrary Monarch ; and further, be pleased to consider, if the Right of Taxation over America and Ireland, should be happily made constitutional, Parliament will after, have a good Right to, and will be, with Facility, able, to draw much larger Supplies to the Revenue, or for Protection and Defence, than they can do without : For all which Reasons I do heartily recommend Representation, and suitable Bounds to the Right of Taxation, then shall we all be cordially happy, in promoting each other's Welfare, and mutual Security, and Prosperity.

So wisheth, and so prayeth,

Your Lordship's sincere, &c

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Dec. 10, 1770.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

A Receipt for effectually preventing Stock-Jobbing.

V I Z.

TO procure an Act of Parliament to make it illegal for any to either sell, or buy, any transferable Stock or Annuity, without the Bargain for the same, being immediately, or on the same Day, committed to Writing, and signed by the Seller, and his Broker, (if any be employ'd) and also by the Buyer, and his Broker, (if any be employed) and that they should be required, under Penalty, to insert the Day of the Week, and Month, on the same Paper, when the said Bargain was made; and by a Clause, to be inserted, let there be a proper Clerk or Officer, appointed in every Transfer Office of Government, or public Securities, especially for the Purpose; and if on Examination, on the Day allotted for the transferring of such Stock, which shall be sold, or bought, after a Time to be limited, it shall be found that any such Seller was not, on the Day of Sale, possessed of such, and so much Stock, as he so sold, then, and in every such Case, the Bargain, not only as at present, shall be void, but no other Person's Stock suffered to be transfered in lieu, and such Seller shall be fined, and forfeit (besides former Penalties) to the said Buyer, Ten per Cent. on the Value so sold, besides a Fine to the Clerk, who examines the Books, or detects, Five per Cent. to be paid him for every such Offence; and every Buyer, who does not take to, and pay at the Period agreed on, shall forfeit to the Seller, Five per Cent. By this Means, a great Number of Men of Abilities will be set a Liberty to follow much honest Callings,

in the mercantile Way, employing their Fortunes to the Emolument of the State, as well as of themselves; and a great Number of the King's honest, well-meaning Subjects, will be thereby preserved in their proper, laudable Vocations, as Tradesmen, and so preserved from the Snares of the *bearish* Gentry, who have been the Ruin of Thousands, through a Variety of Artifices, throwing up and throwing-down the Stock, to answer their unjustifiable Purposes of defrauding the Innocent and Unsuspecting, or the Weak and uninformed, out of their Property. This Remedy. I am well persuaded, will prevent many false Rumours and Stratagems, injurious to public Credit, in order to depreciate the Stocks, the common Practice of the *Bears*: So, upon the Whole, will it be for the Benefit of public Credit, the Good of the State, and the general Good of the People.

M I N E R V A.

Gracechurch-Street,
Dec. 12, 1770.

P. S. It would also be of much Utility, if Bargains for buying and selling Stock were confined to the proper Transfer Offices, where there are now quite sufficient Conveniences for such Business; but so as not to prevent Bargains in private Houses. A Clause likewise should be inserted in the Act, empowering the Buyer, having the Broker's Note, to demand of the Clerk, an Examination of the Transfer Books, to prove the Seller was possessed of the Stock, on the Day of Sale, for want whereof the former Act of 7 George III. has been ineffectual.

N. B. It might

N. B. It might be moreover an additional Prevention, if all Bargains for Time, made in London, were required to be registered, by the Examining Clerk, in the proper Transfer Office, on the Day of the Bargain being made, and Voucher given, to be produced on the Transfer Day.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger:

MUCH Altercation, having of late ensued on the Subject of impressing Seamen, in Times of Danger and Necessity, has occasioned my animadverting on the same, the Result whereof, in my Judgment, I shall not hesitate to communicate, in hope it may have some Tendency to promote the Peace of my Countrymen, and the Safety of the Nation.

It evidently appears, that Impressing is a Kind of Contrast to the peculiar Privilege of an Englishman, in this Land of *constitutional Liberty* to the Subject, a Blessing, which I presume we enjoy, beyond any other Nation, and for which every Briton ought, with a becoming Sensibility, to pay a just Tribute of Reverence and Praise, and ought also to do his Part towards the Preservation thereof; but then let it be considered that while this Nation, happy in that Respect, has for a natural Rival and Enemy, a neighbouring Nation, wherein Popery and arbitrary Power so strongly prevail, that these very valuable Privileges and Rights of Englishmen, are no longer secure to us, than we, by a superior Fleet, &c. continue, under Providence, an Over-match for Catholick Enemies, who doubtless would
otherwise

otherwise exert themselves, to subjugate this, might be, happy Nation to a Yoke, which neither we, nor our Fathers have been able to bear; therefore, when alarm'd with sudden Danger, it becomes the Duty of Ministers, from a Principle of Preservation, and Necessity, to arm, with much greater Dispatch, than is by any express Laws extant possible, hence *Necessitas non habet Legem*, Necessity has no Law, and the other Adage, *Solus Populi suprema est Lex*, or the Safety of the People is the supreme Law, becomes the Grounds of Justification to Government, in making use of, otherwise such seeming Contrast, in a free Country: Nevertheless, by Way of Expedient, to lessen the Extent thereof, I for one should be glad to see an Enquiry set on foot, by appointing a Committee, for such Purpose; and am of the Judgment that, upon the whole Matter, a better cannot be devised, than to make a just, equitable Calculation, of the Number of Seamen, employ'd at each, Sea Ports, and River Ports, in these Dominions, and to oblige every one of them, or each County, wherein they are situated, by Act of Parliament, to furnish, on every emergent, urgent Occasion, a certain limited Number, in Proportion to the Numbers of Seamen, usually employ'd at every such Port, somewhat similar, as now does the Waterman's Company, in London: This Method would greatly facilitate the Manning a Fleet, on a sudden Occasion, and also very much lessen the Necessity of Impressing; but by no Means ought the Power of Pressing to be suppressed; and if the Inland Counties were also to furnish each proportionate Number of Marine Soldiers, 'twould be a good Expedient,

A M O R P A T R I Æ,

Gracechurch-Street,
Dec. 18, 1772.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

MUCH Altercation and Malevolence, having of late taken rise, from a supposed Influence, derived from a certain Lord Chief Justice, over the Jury, on a late remarkable Trial, and the Sons of Liberty, or the Party known by that Appellation, having suggested the Danger of the constitutional Liberty of the Subject, being, by such Means, liable to be lost, has occasioned my Animadversion on the Subject; and in hope the Result may be of some Use, towards quieting the Minds of some of those well-meaning, but too warm, and mislead People, I now employ Half and Hour's Leisure, to publish my Sentiments, being willing for such desirable Purpose, to shew my Opinion also; which take as follows:

The Juries are, unfortunately, too frequently found, by Experience, to be composed of Persons, ignorant of the Law, in which Case the Advice and Direction of the Judge is quite needful, to assist their Judgment, else might their Verdict, in respect of Law, be merely at Hap-hazard, like taking a Leap Blindfold, or in the Dark. The Practice therefore of the Judges, appears to me, not only very justifiable, but very necessary, to the End of equitable Decision; and nevertheless to further quiet the Minds of these Sons of Liberty, I would just put them in mind, that the usual, and reasonable Practice of the Judges giving Directions notwithstanding, if the Jury happen to be such, as are by Knowledge and Experience competent of the Laws, as well as Fact, they are not, as the Matter now stands, in our happy Constitution, obliged by Law to conform to such Directions, if it should be found contrary to the Evidence

dence of their own Minds, but are legally, notwithstanding the Directions, or Assistance of the Judge, at full Liberty to take and determine on both Law, and Fact; so does the Law want no Amendment in that Respect, and cannot be better than it now is, left to the Prudence of the Judge, to give necessary Directions, as the Case may require; and the Jury left to their Choice, to conform to it, only in Proportion, as they find it just.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
Dec. 19, 1770.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

Surgere Diluculo Saluberrimum est.

I Believe the Intelligent will find, on Retrospection, by their own Experience, the Truth of most of the old Adages, found in the best ancient Authors, as Lessons for the Conduct of Human Life; that which I have now chosen, for the Subject of this Letter, I have very happily found verified, in my own Experience, as I presume Multitudes have also done before, 'tis not for their Sake I write, altho' it may happen to give Pleasure, in confirming their Choice; but it is for the Sake of those who, ignorant of, or not sufficiently attentive to, the moral Rectitude thereof, suffer their Shops to remain shut, or their Business neglected, or left wholly to Servants, until a late Hour in the Morning, whereby Health is frequently relaxed, and impaired, Circumstances wounded, and many Evils

Evils creep into Families, to their own great Loss and Disreputation, and is also often found very injurious to the Morals of low menial Servants, as is also leaving them up too late at Night, and, in each Case, without the necessary Superintendance of the Master, or Mistress: Who ought, as much as may be, to have the Direction, over the whole Conduct of their Servants, for their own, and the Servants mutual Benefit, which are very often found reciprocal. Therefore, suffer me, to remind you to keep in Remembrance, agreeable to my Motto, to rise betimes in the Morning, is the wholesomest Thing in the World; and if we take in the Consideration of suitable early Exercise, consequent therefrom, 'twill generally be found very beneficial; Exercise and Temperance being the very best, preserving Physicians, acute Cases and Accidents excepted.

I therefore, for the Health and Welfare of my Countrymen, do heartily recommend the salubrious Practice of early rising, Temperance, and Exercise, and dare venture my Reputation, in laying down for Truth, that if happily put to the Trial, will be more effectual in the Preservation of Health and Welfare, than all the Prescriptions in the World without them.

AMOR PATRIÆ,

*Gracechurch-Street,
Dec. 20, 1770.*

A Word of Advice to the Liberty-Mongers.

IN regard to many of you, whom I have the Charity to believe mean well to the national Interest, although in general misled in Judgment ; as it now appears to Demonstration a settled Point, that ye will not by all your Machinations be able so to distress Government, as to oblige our most gracious Sovereign to change his Ministers, in Favour of your great Leaders, who seem, by their Conduct and Speeches, wishing to see the Nation plunged into a War, on Account of Spain having, by Hostility, done what, in my humble Opinion, we should have long before done ourselves, viz. dispossessed the English Garrison of Falkland's Island ; a barren, worthless Place, more than a hundred Degrees distant, (being much more than one fourth Part of the Circumference of the whole Globe) which, if Peace was to continue twenty Years would all that Time be a needless Expence, without Benefit, our Possession thereof, being only calculated to distress Spain, in Time of War ; and for that very Reason, when they expected a War to ensue, had more Wit than to let us keep it, as they had a sufficient Settlement near at hand, capable to dispossess a Garrison three Times more considerable, without our knowledge, and long before the News could reach this Country. It therefore appears clearly, that the proper Time to have taken Possession of such a Place, could only be, in the first Instance, after the breaking out of a War with Spain, and not in Time of settled Peace ; as if to provoke them by so irritating a Rod hung over them, to intimidate, and which it appears has proved, as one might reasonably expect, a Provocation to renew Hostilities, and for which, not the present, but former Ministers, are accountable.

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I therefore hope, if the present Squabble can be happily got over, by obtaining Payment of the Manilla Ransom, that this Nation may be content to let that barren, insignificant Island, remain, as it was before, unpeopled, and without a Garrison, until a War with Spain may be, on some future Occasion, absolutely declared; but which great Evil I heartily wish may be at a very remote Distance. War is a very important Concern, and when once entered into, hath a Variety of Chances; and no Mortal can foresee when or where it will end; or how many Millions of Money, or thousands of Lives, it may cost to a Nation already too much in debt, by former Wars, and too much exhausted of her Subjects, both by Wars and Emigrations, both very liable to become of extreme dangerous Consequence, if Remedies are not soon happily administered, which latter, I, for one, should be extremely glad to see take Place. But, in the mean Time, let me persuade you Liverty-mongers to become more dutiful, and more peaceable Subjects, and no longer follow that Meteor, Comet, or what shall I call, that Will o' th' Wisp, and Jack with a Lanthorn, which have already nearly led you into Pools and Ditches, or a worse Situation, and may, if you do not timely recal sober Reason to your Aid, irrecoverably infatuate, and lead you into the Stream of endless Perdition: Which, that you may be preserved from, by Repentance, and Reformation, is my hearty Desire.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Dec. 21, 1770.*

P. S. If our true constitutional Liberty had been in real Danger, instead of only imaginary, I should have held out a very different Language to you; but I make it a Rule ever to distinguish between imaginary, and real Evils; between Truth and Falsehood; and between ambitious Self-interest, and the true generous Patriotism.

Idem,

A. P.

To Lord N.

A Pacific Proposition, in Regard of the American Dispute.

LET it be enacted, That Instructions shall be sent unto the several Governors of the American Provinces, and to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that they forthwith lay before the several Assemblies and Parliament, that they may each of them, severally, send Representatives, to be admitted into the Parliament of Great Britain, and Dominions thereto belonging, in order to consult on the great Affairs of the Nation, and particularly, to consider and determine, what certain, equal Proportion shall be next Year, and annually after fixed on, as a general Tax, on real and personal Estates, for the Purpose of defraying the Expence of general Protection and Defence; and for their Encouragement, to establish a permanent Security to them, they shall not, after Representation takes place, be liable to
be

be taxed apart from the British Subjects, or in any larger Proportion, towards raising a Revenue ; but if any should undutifully neglect to send such Representatives, to assist at the next Session of Parliament, that such Neglect shall not, in any wise, be considered as any Reason for their being exempt from Taxation ; but as they have Leave so to send Deputies, shall be equally liable to be taxed in common with the Rest, for the Purpose of defraying the Charge of general Protection and Defence, whether their Representatives are present or not, an Admission thereof being honourably allowed.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Jan. 4, 1771.*

P. S. An equitable Re-assessment, or new Valuation of Estates, in Great Britain, may be enacted this Year, but cannot, with Propriety be extended to America and Ireland, so far as to reduce to Practice, before the Year 1771, and previous Act of Parliament, allowing them to send Representatives to co-operate therein ; 'twould also be very proper to enact, in the same Act, this Session, that until (by the Means now proposed, or some other) the several Assemblies of the American Colonies shall have, by Vote of Assembly, resolved that they will be subject to the equitable Taxation of the supreme Sovereign Power, in Parliament, assembled, no more *Bounties* shall be allowed, in Favour of such Colonies, who do not make such Acknowledgement, by such Resolve, until they shall return to their Duty, in making the same, and conforming accordingly.

N. B. An

N. B. 'Tis very clear to me, that the very principal Reason, why the Colonies do not desire a Representation, is because 'twould effectually cut off their undutiful and selfish Views to future Independence; but, mark well, that is a very cogent Reason, why, in the first Place, before any other Measure be pursued, they should be left without Excuse, in regard of Taxation without Representation, by granting the latter.

Idem,

A. P.

The Consequences of High Duties, and the Benefit of a different Mode of Taxation candidly considered.

IT is past a Doubt the Exigencies of State must be provided for, when the Safety of the People make it necessary; and it is also past a Doubt, that the necessary Protection cannot be administered without the Means, which under Providence, are a sufficient Force by Sea and Land, which, properly employed, and wisely directed, may be rationally considered as a Bulwark to the Safety of the State, and consequently to the manifold Liberties and Blessings of the the People, in this might-be happy Island, Great Britain. This necessary Force by Sea and Land cannot be maintained without very great Expence, which must, of Necessity, be supported by very great Revenues; Therefore are great Revenues, arising from the People, so receiving the most valuable Consideration, absolutely necessary. But then the grand Controversy, and which the
Safety

Safety of the State, and the People, make very necessary to be wisely considered, and happily determined, is to demonstrate the wisest Mode, or Modes, of raising such Revenue, in such Form and Manner, as to consequentially become most consistent, with the true well-being of the Subject, in general, or by such Methods as are in their Nature and Consequences, least liable to derive Injustice, Hardship, Cruelty, or anti-commercial Principles, to the Subjects. The Reverse of which last Nature are evidently, very high Duties on the Importation of Commodities easily portable; such as Tea, Brandy, &c. which, when legally imported, and attended with the accumulated high Duties, become so high-priced to the Consumer, that there becomes, in Consequence, too strong a Temptation, among bad, unprincipled Subjects, to smuggle such and such-like portable Articles, or to buy them of Smugglers; so doth the high Duties become, in Effect, partial and unrighteous, too much putting it in the Power of unconscientious and bad Subjects to under-sell, and ruin the fair Trader, and best of Subjects; an inglorious, and ruinous Retribution of Rewards, opposite to the Principles of Justice and Reason, and therefore not fit to be exercised, except in some few Cases, where the commercial, and moral Interest of the Subject, may make a Prohibition necessary. But even in such Cases, unless a sufficient Number of Cutters and armed Vessels are constantly employed to scour the Seas around, and keep them clear of Smuggling Vessels, it works great Hardship, and a Sort of Injustice, to the fair Trader, and which ought to be guarded against. And, by the Way, a large, sufficient Number of Cutters, Sloops, and armed Vessels, would be a good Means of keeping up a large Number of exercised Seamen, for the King's Use, when Need requires. But, after all, excepting such

such Articles, the Importation whereof is against the Principles of our own Manufactures and Commerce; it is much to be desired by the Candid and Intelligent honest Man, that the Exercise of their Sovereign Power, respecting, raising a Revenue by Taxation, would ever keep in View the true Interest of the British Manufactures and Commerce, and the Ease of the poor Manufactures; so that they, by buying the Necessaries of Life cheap, may afford to work cheap, and thereby prevent, in Measure, our being undermined and underfold, by our natural Rivals and Enemies, the French, at Foreign Markets; and, in lieu of the hitherto, too much practised Method, of taxing the Necessaries of Life, which the Poor cannot do without, in order to raise Funds, to borrow Money on, and pay Dividends, or Interest thereof, by such Means, supporting Wars, until, during this Century, and some few Years of the last, the Public are become much more than One Hundred and Thirty Millions in debt to the Lenders or their Assigns; and by which Means the poor Manufacturerers pay, in the Price, a considerable Tax in Beer, Ale, Coals, Soap, Candles, &c. &c. and which has been so magnified from Time to Time, that it is high Time to put a final Stop to it, by wisely and honestly adopting a new Plan, of following Property wherever it is found in the King's Dominions, by laying Taxes on all real and personal Estates, honestly assessed, as near as may be. This Mode, wisely adopted, and regulated with Prudence, may save the State and public Credit, and administer much Comfort to fair Commerce, and to the poor Manufacturer also, who are truly, consequentially the Riches of the Nation, or Source thereof, and should, as well from Policy as Charity, be tenderly regarded, and prudently encouraged.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

HAVING a sincere Regard for the lasting Welfare of my Countrymen, the Merchants and Manufacturers of this, may be, *happy Island*: Suffer me, through the Channel of your useful Paper, to put them in Mind, by Way of Caution, what Sort of Language and Conduct, the *Americans* held out to them five Years ago, in order to induce them to solicit Government, to indulge them in an unreasonable Favour, by repealing the important Stamp Act—an Act, no otherwise impolitic, than that it was not preceded by, or accompanied with, the constitutional Measure of granting them a suitable Representation, in the supreme Legislature of these Dominions, and which, if they had previously, or then, petitioned for, and had been refused, would have made their Objections constitutionally valid; but they, and their mistaken Advocates, weakly overlooking, or not seeing the great, the manifest, and important Difference, between a *constitutional* Right, and an *equitable* Right, in respect of parliamentary Taxation, ignorantly imagined, and asserted, that the Parliament, or King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, being the only sovereign Power in these Dominions, both of Britain and America, &c. have *no Right at all* to tax America, whereas nothing can be more evidently true, in the right Eye of Reason and Justice, than that, agreeable to general Practice in all Countries, the sovereign Power of every Nation, hath a clear, certain, equitable Right to lay Taxes on all their Subjects, in just Proportions, to defray the Expense of general Protection and Defence, necessary in all Countries. The Case thus premised, I now exhort my Countrymen to

consider the lamentable Dilemma they found themselves drawn into, by being threatened by their American mistaken Friends, with the Non-payment, or a pretended Inability to pay their Debts, unless the Repeal of the Stamp Act was obtained; and this, at a Time when they appeared to be much more than four Millions in Debt, to the Merchants and Manufacturers of Great Britain, whose Ruin was so ungratefully threatened, if they did not what they could not do, without foregoing their Duty to their Sovereign, and their Country, use their utmost Endeavours to obtain the Repeal of that Act. Let it be also duly considered, that those same Americans have since tried a very different Measure, and have failed of procuring, a further unreasonable and dangerous Indulgence, which they so strenuously and unjustly attempted, by punishing the Merchants and Manufacturers of this Country, (who were very innocent in the Matter complained of) by refusing to take their Manufactures, although this could not be essayed as it was, without punishing themselves, and their Countrymen, much more than it did the British Artisan; and all this, to procure, by Means of a Repeal on Tea, another Lift towards their own imaginary Interest; but consequently *real Ruin*, in attempting the arbitrary, ungrateful, and undutiful Measure, of their much longed for Independance on their Parent State,---an Attempt, big with their own Destruction, as the probable and necessary Effect of such Ingratitude, in *rebelli*ng against the reasonable Laws of their proper and only Sovereign, supreme legislative Power, their constant Protectors and Preservers, under Providence, against all their, and our Enemies. If it should unhappily be suffered for their temporary Chastisement, it must be a Verification of that sacred Record, “ *When the Judgments of God are on the Earth, her Inhabitants will learn Righteousness.*”

Ingratitude is said in the Holy Scriptures, to be the Sin of Witchcraft, and if the Americans should, unhappily, be so far become bewitched, by their own covetous and irrational Tempers, as to make the Attempt, let it be remembered, for their own Peace and Safety, that such Merchants and Manufacturers of Great Britain, as they shall then be the least in debt to, will be best off.

I would therefore, recommend to my Countrymen, to be on their Guard, and not confide too much in such of them, as discover so unjust a Principle, as to want to be exempt from parliamentary Taxation, because not represented, and at the same Time averse to Representation, lest they should lose the only Excuse, and become liable to honestly contribute, as all good Subjects do, all over the World, a reasonable Quota, fixed by sovereign Law, towards the mighty Expence of Protection and Defence, in a Country which hath, for that sole Purpose, the largest, and most expensive Navy, of any Nation on Earth.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
Jan. 8, 1771.

New Taxes, *proposed to be laid on* Old Batchelors, Horses *and* Dogs.

THE unhappy Mistakes, in Judgment, of former Ministers, unjudiciously and cruelly, causing the Necessaries of Life to be taxed, which the poor manufacturing
X 2 People

People cannot do without, and at the same Time, overlooking Objects of growing Mischief, injurious to the Good of the State, and of our Country, and which would abundantly easier and better bear Taxation, than these Necessaries of Life, which being taxed, do ungenerously and impolitickly tend to enhance the Prices thereof, and thereby distress the Poor, who ought, from Principles of Justice, Mercy, and sound Policy, to be enabled to procure such Things, as Beer, Ale, Coals, Soap, Candles, &c. &c. on as low Terms as possible, in order they may not only live more comfortable, but be the better enabled to work cheap, and thereby prevent our Manufactures, through high Wages, being enhanced in Price, so as to cause our being circumvented and undersold, by the French, at foreign Markets.

The Objects which would much more judiciously and properly bear Taxation, are, Batchelors, Horses and Dogs; to discourage the too great Numbers whereof, by Taxation, would be not only raising Money, so necessary to amend the Finances of the State, in ease of the enormous Size of the public Debt, but would also exclusively be doing much good in many Respects; first, by putting each Batchelor in mind of their Duty, in endeavouring, according to the Will of Providence, to make some suitable Woman happy, and therein to make themselves so also; and withal doing good to their Country, by helping to raise up a happy Succession of reasonable Beings, to recruit this exhausted Country, and thereby transmit to future Ages, some happy Transcripts of themselves, to preserve their Memory on Record, and enjoy the Fruits of their Labours, after their final Summons from hence to *future Rewards*.

I would

I would also remark, under the second Article, that breeding and exporting such prodigious Number of Horses, as has been the Case of late Years, not only tends to divert too much of the Pasturage to the Breed of Horses, which should serve to raise and feed Cattle, for Food or being made Arable, raise Corn, in order to make Bread plenty and cheap; but does very impolitically, (like putting a Sword into the Hand of an Enemy,) too much tend to strengthen the Armies of Foreigners, with the best Breed of Horses, who being our Enemies, may make use of them against us, therefore should a high Duty be laid on Exportation thereof, from this Country: And in respect of Dogs, the monitrous Number whereof are very injurious, in many Respects, and are very hurtful to the Poor, in consuming the Meat, which should feed them; 'tis not improbable, in my Estimation, there may be much more than ten useless, unserviceable Dogs in each Parith, on an Average, but even at that reckoning, they would amount to near one hundred thousand in England, and the Food they eat would serve, at least, Half as many poor People, who many of them want it, and find it too dear for their Purchase. I therefore would propose, that no Person should be suffered to keep a Dog, or Dogs, without a suitable Licence, attended with an annual Tax, in Proportion to their Station in Life, and to the Number allowed to keep.

And lastly, the Taxes on Batchelors, of 24 Years of Age, and upwards, should be proportioned to their reputed Abilities, of which the Church Wardens and Overseers of the Poor, in each Parish, will be tolerable good Judges, so putting them into Classes, or taxing them by a Pound Rate, in which would be very little Difficulty to determine a suitable

able Method, so would large Sums of Money be raised, by Acts of Goodness, in lieu of Oppression ; and would turn out, instead of distressing the Poor, affording them Relief, and also procuring Emolument to the State, and public Good, which should ever be the Object of Ministers Attention.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Jan. 12, 1771.*

P. S. If any should object to the Unreasonableness of the Batchelors Tax, let them consider, that they can well afford to pay a very considerable yearly Sum, out of their Savings ; and that those who do their Duty, in raising Families, contribute their answerable Proportions, in the enhanced Prices of the many Necessaries of Life, used in their Families, and subject to Taxation, and which single Men are meanly exempt from, by their niggardly, ungenerously, unjustifiable, or unmanly Conduct.

Idem,

A. P.

For the PUBLIC LEDGER. To CORIOLANUS ASIATICUS.

IN answer to his infamous Address to both Houses of Parliament, inserted in your Paper of the 29th Instant, I recommend this Youth, in Politics and History, to purchase

chafe, or refer to the Acts of Parliament, made in the 3d and 17th Years of George II. which for the valuable Consideration of two hundred Thousand Pounds, paid by the Company in the Year 1730, for the Use of the Public, and also in Consideration of One per Cent. abated of the former Interest on the Capital, which Abatement amounted to thirty-two Thousand per Annum, and also in Consideration of one Million Sterling more, then lent by the Company to the Government, for the Use of the Public, at only Three per Cent. when that was (being in Time of War) far beneath the real Value of Money; for all these very valuable Considerations, the very valuable and extensive Rights and Privileges of the Company were clearly, firmly and justly ascertained, fixed, and determined, by those very solemn Acts of King, Lords, and Commons, for which, *the value in hand*, as previously agreed on, being so paid, the Company's Rights are as strong and as justly acquired, as any Man, or Company can have to any Estate, to which he hath a Right established by Act of Parliament. One of the Rights so established by Act of Parliament, in Favour of the Company, is occasionally to make War with Indian Powers, and to take, hold, sell, or restore all the Possessions they had or might after acquire, and that the Corporation should have perpetual Succession, and that the exclusive *sole Trade* should continue, first to the 25th March, 1766, and by the latter Act extended to the 25th March, 1780, and then to continue until the Expiration of three Years Notice, after given, and also until repaying to the Company, the whole Sums of Three Million Two Hundred Thousand Pounds, and One Million Four Million Two Hundred Thousand Pounds, and all Arrears of Interest; and further, that after such Notice and Re-payment, although the sole exclusive trade should on such Terms then cease, yet nevertheless, the Corporation should
continue

continue perpetually, and have a Right to the Trade to India, also, in common with all other Subjects. This being really, truly, and *bona fide* the Case, how falsely and infamously does this Author abuse the Company, for *doing* what they had and have the Sanction of several Acts of Parliament for doing; his Computation of the Revenues of Bengal and Bahar, at Fourteen Millions Sterling, seem dishonourably intended to deceive the Proprietors; it cannot be so many Pounds Sterling; I believe so many Rupees, or Half-crowns Sterling, is pretty near the Truth; so doth he magnify it, in a Proportion of eight to one, and apparently, to give a Colour to his Proposition, of the Company's giving One Million per Year, after the Year 1774. I doubt not he here means Pounds Sterling; but I think I may venture to conclude, the Proprietors, when they have perused the aforesaid Acts, of the 3d and 17th of George II. will know their own Rights, and their own Interest too well to fall into such an unreasonable Measure, which cannot be done without a Majority of their own Voices, or Votes, in general Court, or without a total Infraction of the Principles of *Honour* and *Justice*, in the supreme legislative Power, which, however, this Youth in Politics may hope for, or vainly expect. I can by no Means, entertain the least Thought of, putting so unpardonable an Affront on them; on the contrary, I am determined to have Hope and Confidence, in their Justice and Equity, which Principles are, and must be, the true and lasting Foundation of all our Rights and Privileges, as Englishmen, as well as Proprietors of the *East-India Stock and Possessions*.

This uncandid, unexperienced, or unfair Writer, speaks also of Parliament, (although impossible without notorious Breach of Faith and Contract) taking the Company's Possessions

sessions into their own Hands, and to exact of the Company half a Million a Year for a new Charter, besides the ready Sum of eight Millions, which he says (but falsely) they have offered for a Renewal. The Company must be as weak, as stupid, and as unjust to themselves, as he appears to be, to make such an Offer; and I cannot avoid being surprized, that any Man should have the Effrontery to assert, in an Appeal to both Houses of Parliament, so manifest and notorious an Untruth.

This young Man's Attack on the Company is about as scandalous, unjust, and infamous, as the many Publications inserted in the Public Papers about two Years ago, apparently with the same Design to dishonestly wound, or destroy, the public Credit of the Company, and the Stock thereof; for which, in my Judgment, he clearly deserves to be put in the Pillory, as his Predecessor, in such infamous Publications, was--and if his Patron had accompanied him, and had been sufficiently pelted by the injured, it would have been a just Retribution for his very unjust and arbitrary Practices.

A Friend to Justice, and an Old Proprietor,

T. C.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Jan. 29, 1771.*

*For the PUBLIC LEDGER:**To the Writer who signs Cariolanus Asiaticus.*

HAVING perused your uncandid and inconsistent Performance of Saturday last, I was prompted to answer immediately, but was that Day previously engaged on a Tour into the Country, so that I have not had Leisure to exercise my Quill before this 4th of February—Excuse the Delay, and now for your Comfort take for answer, that I never on any Occasion mean ill to any Man, it being against my Principle so to do, and should not, on Account of any Thing personal, take up my Pen, but from a justifiable Motive of defending the Rights and Privileges of an injured Company, composed of more than two thousand Proprietors, many of them Widows and Orphans, whose Property has been so wantonly sported with, as if (altho' by the Laws of the Land a Man may be hanged for robbing another of a few Pounds) standing in the Pillory was too great a Punishment for using such open Endeavours to bring about a destructive Measure, which would, if effected, rob thousands of their lawful Property, made so by many solemn Acts of the supreme Legislative Power, and that for valuable Considerations given; I do as much pity as despise such ungenerous, arbitrary, dishonest, and impolitick Principles; I do not affirm how it may be, but it appears too probable this Writer may be some worthless Branch of the *Stuart Race*, or in too close a Connection with such, to do any good here; I therefore, on a Presumption he may be of a Northern Extraction, heartily wish him a safe and expeditious Journey back again into his own dear Country, or that of his Predecessors; we want not such tyrannical Principles broached among us in this happier Climate, where

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we desire to remain secure in our Property, as well as in our Liberties and Privileges, without having them endangered or threatened by such infamous Tools of arbitrary Principles, which does not, nor I hope ever will suit the Stomachs of true-born Englishmen; we cannot digest such dangerous Trash, and hope we shall all, to a Man, spurn at the Attempt. If the Property and Privileges of some thousands, in a corporal Capacity, are to be tyrannically, or wantonly attacked, it may be fairly concluded the same arbitrary Principles, having acquired fresh Strength, would soon invade all the rest, and every constitutional Security.

I therefore, and for the Sake of Justice to the concerned, shall answer as often as I am furnished with such like Occasions, if it be every Week in the Year.---The Inconsistency of C. A's. Letter, now alluded to, makes mention of my attending to Letters signed Junius Asiaticus, but is a mere Creature of his own Imagination. I neither mentioned, or thought of those Letters, or that Signature. He mentions again, that I insist "that Government ought by no Means to interfere with the Company's Conduct; this I flatly deny, no such Words or Meaning having ever been wrote, or spoke by me. In short, he seems to have wrote without a Book, and with the pitiful help of a very bad Memory, else must his Sincerity, Charity, and Candour, be all at an extreme low Ebb. I wish him a fresh recruit of these valuable and beneficent Principles, before he writes or speaks any more on a Subject of so much Consequence, and which he appears so extremely inadequate to." He asserts the Writer of the Letter, he has so uncandidly pretended to answer, is an old Man in his Dotage. Another Instance of his total Ignorance of the Truth, he also speaks of the infamous Principles of the East-India Company, but forgets he is therein abusing the supreme

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Legislature,

Legislature, composed of King, Lords, and Commons, who, for valuable Considerations, have repeatedly established and confirmed, not only the Commercial, but warlike Rights and Principles of that very valuable and now opulent Company.

Perhaps he has no Money to buy its Stock himself, and is therefore envious of her Grandeur, a Thing very common to mean Souls, but the honest, the brave and the wise, soar above such low, groveling, miserable Ideas; he says, the old Man would do well to remember that the same power that gives for the Benefit of all, can take away upon the same Principle; but I would have him first consider that the Company's Privileges were not of *Bounty given*, but for very valuable large Considerations paid in hard Money, purchased of *Government*; and does he think it a less Crime to rob a large Body of some thousands of Proprietors, than it would be to rob himself of an Estate, which he had purchased and paid for, under Sanction of the whole Legislative Powers: If he does, I pity his Principles, and I shall think him an Enemy to the Happiness of Mankind. If he had read the several Acts of Parliament, at least a Dozen, which constitute the present Rights of the Company, particularly those of the 3d and 17th Geo. II. it might have saved him from exposing his Incapacity and Ignorance, in asserting so many absolute Falsities, which his last, as well as former Letter contains, respecting the Intent of establishing and confirming the Rights of the Company; and if he had consulted as many living Witnesses as I have, about the Revenues of Bengal, he might have saved his Credit on that head also; I know his Computation is notoriously false; if he means so much Revenues, arising to the Company, or a quarter Part thereof, and if he means to include what is paid out of it, to the Indian

Indian Powers, to whom the Company are only Tenants, it is a wicked and deceitful Calculation, which while he falsely accuseth the Company of plundering the Natives, (for we should ever distinguish between the Acts of the Company, and the unwarranted Acts of some lawless Servants) seems to hang out an Idea of its being very proper for Government, in lieu of making a fair Compact with the Indian Powers as the Company has, *bona fide*, done, to plunder and rob the same Powers of their real Property, and set up Sovereignty in a Country, which at this Day has not either the King of Great Britain, or the Company for their lawful Sovereign, but the great Mogul, or Emperor of Indostan, and his Nabobs: The English East-India Company, as before mentioned, being Tenant only under them, in the Nature of perpetual Tenants, paying large annual Sums to the Sovereign Powers of Bengal and Bahar.

These Matters being true Facts; how glaringly does this infamous Youth in Politicks (or a much worse Man) expose his Ignorance and his Principles to wound the Company, and the honest Proprietors? Such Writers are a Disgrace to our Country, and deserve much severer Punishment than that I have heretofore pointed out. The Ax and the Halter are severe Remedies, but severe Maladies require such for the Good of the Whole, in order to prevent Contagion.

An Old Proprietor,

T. C.

Feb. 8, 1771.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

SUFFER me through the Channel of your very useful Paper, to represent to the ingenious Artists concerned in building Black-Friars-Bridge, and to their Employers, the Utility and Convenience of another Bridge, to be built across the River Thames, from about Somerset Watergate, or nearly opposite Catherine-street in the Strand, to the opposite Shore in Surry. The ready and expeditious Communication between the very numerous Inhabitants of those vast extensive Parts of the Town, lying about North of this middle Part of the Strand, and the Surry Roads, without being obliged to wander round-about to either Westminster, or Black-Friars Bridge, is so very manifest, that I think it cannot escape Evidence, if but duly considered; and as the chief Objection against building Bridges is by those two of late Years erected already incurred, viz. that of lessening the Number of Watermen, or weakening this Nursery of Seamen, insomuch that the third Bridge now here proposed would comparatively do no further Mischief of that Nature, or not a tenth Part of what was sustained by erecting the two former, and as this third would be a very great Convenience to a very large and populous Part of the Town, and would also very much add to the improvement of many Estates, and to the Elegance and Grandeur of the Cities and Suburbs of London and Westminster, I therefore recommend it to the proper Consideration of all the Concerned.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Feb. 13, 1772.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

AMONG the many very useful and judicious Improvements, of late Years, made in and about this Metropolis, I have often wondered to see so very inconvenient and great Imperfection in the Passage for Carriage, between the Cities of London and Westminster, but particularly the the very inconvenient, tedious Travelling round about the South-side of St. Paul's Church from Cheapside to Ludgate-Street, or the contrary Way, which might be remedied without much Difficulty, or Expence, by opening a new Passage from the West-End of Paternoster-Row into the Old Bailey, near to Ludgate-Hill, and by opening the Passage on the North-side of St. Paul's Church for Carriages ; so that it might be limited by Act of Parliament, or Act of Common-Council, that all Carriages passing from East to West should go through one of these two new Carriage Ways, and all Carriages Travelling the contrary Way, should go through the other of them, so would there be Width sufficient in each of them : And if any afterwards should make Choice to perambulate the old round-about Way, they should be at least willing to have those accommodated with a streigther and quicker Passage, who may have less leisure Time on Hand.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street
Feb. 14, 1771.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

SUFFER me to make use of your diffusive Paper, to administer a little wholesome Correction to that infamous, Out of Place, *Stock Jobbing Bear*, who, in your Paper of this Day, Monday 18th Feb. signs *One of the Public*, alias one of the People, that is, as I perceive, one of the Stock Jobbing People, who contrary to Law, Reason, and Justice, defraudulently sell Stock, which they have not in Possession, at the Time of Sale, in order, after throughing down the Price, by fictitious bad News, and other jugling Tricks, they may buy in cheaper, and so very wickedly cheat the Innocent and Unsuspecting, and the Weak, or Uninformed out of their Property:

This mean, unprincipled Author appears, by his Performance, inserted in your Paper this Day, to wish *A. P.* as abandon'd to Equity, and good Conscience as himself; but *A. P.* is determined to remain a constant, steady Proprietor, enjoying the very great Benefit of making Six per Cent. per Ann. on the Purchase-Money, for which every Proprietor has a clear, certain parliamentary and equitable Right, and to confirm which, every half Year, there wants nothing more than that the Majority of the Proprietors, in the general Quarterly-Court, preceding Lady-Day and Michaelmas-Day, do agree to approve Twelve and an Half per Cent. Dividend per Ann. on the Capital Stock of the East-India Company, preferable to a smaller Dividend; and altho' we live in an Age of Absurdities and Inconsistencies, for squeezing Proprietors out of their Property, I cannot yet think there can be the least Danger, but that not only the Majority, but every Proprietor, who is

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Compos Mentis will like, and Vote for, Twelve and an Half preferable to a smaller Dividend, especially as 'tis notoriously known by every intelligent Proprietor, that the Company can abundantly better afford to divide Twelve and an Half per Cent. now, than they have been at any Time this forty Years, able to afford the Dividends, which have been in any one Year, made during so long a Period. This Matter thus discussed, I now answer the inferior Part of his Remark, respecting A. P's. Proposition for building another Bridge; his narrow Conceptions of A. P's Meaning is I confess the more excusable, on Account of the Printer having officiously inserted two Words in my Letter, not in the Original, on which he remarks so unfavourably, and which two Words being, *the* and *side*, in the twelfth Line, do alter and contract the Meaning, which A. P. intended to convey to the Reader, which was that of the proposed new Bridge, being adapted to benefit, not the Inhabitants of the Strand only, but all those in the Multitude of Streets and Places, lying North of the Place proposed for erecting the New Bridge, from the Strand Holborn, &c. Northward, to accommodate all of whom, I am of the Judgment is not so very trifling an Object, as this mean-spirited Writer seems, for want of better Intellects, to apprehend; but such shallow and selfish Politicians are a Disgrace to this Country, and dangerous to her *Welfare*, and which latter I ever wish to promote, as I may be favoured with Opportunity and Ability, notwithstanding such Discouragements, which such weak, short-sighted, poor arbitrary Creatures, are often suggesting, to the Intent of cramping and supplanting every Spark of Public Spirit. It would in my Judgment become him much better to espouse the judicious Plan signed *Minerva*, in the Public Ledger of Wednesday the 13th Feb. for destroying

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the present infamous Practice of Stock-Jobbing, but which, without his much *Reformation*, I cannot expect, and I therefore do heartily *wish* it him, for the Public Good.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Feb. 18, 1771.*

For the PUBLIC LEDGER:

HAVING some Weeks since thrown out a Hint for preventing the many Mischiefs, which so frequently happen by horned Cattle, being drove through the Streets of London, in hope some Member of the Legislature might take it up, for the Public Good; and having since considered the subject Matter a little further, I have thought of another Expedient, and which, if the Difficulty arising from the present City Rights, in regard of Smithfield-Market, can be easily got over, or satisfied, would be more effectual in the total Prevention of the Danger, in Question, than the former Plan, viz. to abolish the present *Nuisance* of a Market for *horned Cattle* in Smithfield, and in lieu thereof to establish two others, one in the Fields near Islington, not far from the New-river-head, for the Conveniency of all Drovers of Cattle, coming from the Northern, or by Way of the late new Roads, eastern and western Parts of England; and the other in George's-Fields, for the Conveniency of the Counties of Kent, Suffex, Surry, and some western Counties, which might find readier Access to this than the other, by Means of these two Markets for
horned

horned Cattle, and the Slaughter-Houses before proposed; there would not remain any Necessity for horned Cattle being drove through the Town at all, some few Streets and Roads in the Extremities thereof excepted.

I therefore, for the Safety and Convenience of the very numerous Inhabitants of these Cities and Borough, of London, Westminster and Southwark, do seriously recommend the Consideration of these Matters to such worthy, benevolent Members of the Legislature, whose Notice it may fall under, as an Affair of some Importance, not only to guard against the Multitude of Accidents, and Loss of many valuable Lives, among his Majesty's Subjects, which has hitherto been woefully experienced; but also as a Measure which would not a little conduce to the Cleanliness and consequent Healthfulness of this Metropolis.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Mar. 1, 1771.*

For the PUBLIC LEDGER.

To Carolianus Asiaticus, of Bruton-Street, in Answer to his Address to the Proprietors of East-India Stock in your Paper of this Day 8th March.

AS the Assertion of this tenacious Writer cannot possibly be founded on Truth, without implying, that even the Fountain of Justice, in Violation of her own Principles, shall depart from her favourite *cardinal Virtue*, in not only

breaking the solemn Contract, made between the Legislature, composed of King, Lords, Commons, and the Hon: East-India Company, for the latter of which valuable Rights and Priviledges were stipulated, and for which a valuable Consideration was *bona fide* in Hand paid, in hard Money ; these very Rights specifically and on Purpose pointed out in the very last Charter obtained on Purpose for that End. This wanton, unprincipled Writer, would make us believe 'tis the Intention of Government to deprive the Company of; but those who think more sacredly of the Honour of our Superiors, and of whom I acknowledge myself one, cannot take his *ipse dixit* for Proof of such malignant Intentions; which cannot, by any Means hitherto hinted, so far as have come to my Knowledge, be effected without pulling off, even the Mask of *Honesty*; whereas 'tis an old and sound Proverb, *Honesty is the best Policy*, on which good Ground 'tis easily proved, that a total Privation of that best of Principles, is the worst Measure, even the worst the Government can adopt, and therefore cannot rationally be expented from our present most gracious Monarch, and the other two Branches of Legislation.

This infamous Writer should therefore for his own Credit, if he has a Desire to preserve the small Remains, tell us how the Proprietors are to be satisfied ; for the explicit Right, so clearly granted, by Way of Explanation of former Grants, in the last Charter, obtained for that Purpose, of his late Majesty, George IId. and on which Ground the Company, with Advice and Approbation of the then Ministry, made a very successful War on, not only France, but the Indian Powers, but not without running the Risque of their *all*, as Proprietors of East-India Stock—And having happily met with Success, should they
now

now be robb'd of its Fruits without an *equivalent Recompence*, forbid it Heaven ! as it cannot be done without Injustice and arbitrary Power.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
March 12, 1771.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

In Answer to the very uncandid Writer who signs

CORIO LANUS ASIATICUS.

IN his Letter inserted in your Paper, 9th of March Inst. he has this remarkable *false Position*, “ As the Charter “ (of the East-India Company) is near its Termination, “ would it not have been better to wait three Years longer ? If your exclusive Privileges, which end the 2d of “ February, 1774, should be renewed, then it would “ have come with a better Grace” (meaning the Increase of the Directors Salaries).

Now, in order to undeceive the Proprietors and the Public, who may be uninformed of the Truth, the Acts of Parliament, of the 3th and 17th of Geo. II. do, for a very large and valuable Consideration paid by the Company, make their Charter *perpetual*, and that they shall enjoy all the Possessions, which they had, or might acquire in India; and withal, in the Year 1756, at the Beginning of the last War, the then wise Directors being by the then Ministry recommended to exert their utmost Efforts against the
common

common Enemy in India, becoming such by the national War, and knowing the very great Expence, and Risque which must necessarily attend the Measures so recommended were, in Duty bound to their Principles, whom they represented, (*i. e.* the Proprietors) careful, that on the other Hand, if Success should happily attend their warlike Efforts, so advised by Government, the Company might be sure of the Terms of the Acts of Parliament not becoming liable to be perverted to a contracted Meaning, did on purpose, and previous to commencing the very expensive warlike Operations of the Company in India, obtain from our upright and magnanimous late King, Geo. II. another special Charter, granted for the very Purpose of insuring to the Company the sole Benefit of their Success, if it should succeed, by their being allowed to *possess, restore, or dispose* of any Territories, which they might acquire: So that it was not by making War on any European Powers, in Amity with Great Britain, or *to this Effect strictly*. Thus the Company have a clear Right by both Acts of Parliament and Charters, granted by Way of solemn Stipulations, as the Conditions upon which very amazingly large Sums were paid for the Use of the Public, and expended to defend, &c. against, and annoy the common Enemies of the Nation and the Company, and becoming so by the national War, wherein the Honourable East-India Company were not in the least Aggressors, or the procuring Cause, but intirely innocent of the Matter.

The Case thus honestly stated, how much is it to be regretted, that any of the King's Subjects should malevolently Charge another with Passion, and Writing unlike a Gentleman, for the sole Reason of espousing the Cause of deserving and suffering Innocence, which this, I say unprincipled

principled Writer, (I did not say Villain in my former Letter, as he falsely infers) seems to foster an Opinion of being justifiable; but I will not scruple to suppose, if he has Knowledge, Religion, Reason, or common Sensation, his Conscience must of Necessity contradict his Pen; and I hope will stare him out of Countenance, respecting the Malignity of his Heart against some thousands of honest Proprietors of the Stock, private Gentlemen, Widows, Orphans, and others, who have honestly bought and paid for their several Shares in the Company's Stock, under the Express Sanction and Faith of explicit Acts of Parliament, and Charters, fairly, and for a very valuable Consideration obtained, and which I hope will be honestly and honourably maintained; being determined to judge more honourably of the Legislature, than to suppose it possible for them to rob the Company, in Breach of the Faith of *Parliament*, and *royal Charters*, and that *without any equivalent*, as this unfair Writer asserts, but which I am determined not to pass so notorious affronts on all the three Branches of the Legislature, as to believe or countenance.

The Writer, in Question, asserts in his Letter inserted in your Paper of the 14th March, "their Dominions will in all Probability fall a Sacrifice to our Enemies," now to Reason a little with this superficial, passionate, Writer, I would query of him, if *Territories*, which were *obtained from Enemies*, at a Time when such Enemies were abundantly, beyond Comparison, more powerful, and more rich than they have been since, or are at present, can be rationally supposed in Danger of being again, (contrary to the ensuing solemn Treaties of Peace) recovered, or wrested from the Company, notwithstanding while the Indian Powers, formerly in Possession, are become so excessively reduced from both Power and Wealth, the English East-India

India Company have now already in Bengal three Times the number of Forces, which reduced an Enemy there, more than three Times as strong as they are, or have been since; and yet in the same Letter he has the Ignorance, and want of Candour, to query, how is it possible that the Company should be able to defend Possessions of such Extent and Value?" His Assertions, that the Establishment of the Company is entirely Commercial, wants not my Authority to prove *absolutely and entirely false*, the special Acts of Parliament, and Charters, in favour of the Company, do clearly prove it false. So I hope no further Regard will be paid to so *unprincipled* a Matter.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
Mar. 18, 1771.

N. B. The Letter, without a Date, signed *Amor Patriæ*, in yours of the 16th Instant was not mine.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

HAVING been just now perusing the Sketch of a proposed Act to prevent Stocking-Jobbing, by a Man of sixty, it appears to be but a reasonable Duty due to the Public Weal, to expose the inadequate deceptive Part thereof. The Man of sixty may be reasonably supposed to remember how dreadful Consequences attended the Practice of Stock-Jobbing before the Year 1734, when,
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as he observes, Sir John Barnard's Act took Place : It had been for many Years before woefully experienced, that a great many unprincipled, bad People did, contrary to the Rules of Law and Equity, make a Practice to *sell* transferable Stock, of which they were not in Possession at the Time of Sale; and that with an unjustifiable covetous View of Buying in cheaper, after they had, by false bad News, and other Stratagems, (in which they were as now, adepts) thrown down the Price, so as wickedly to squeeze out a large Difference, and that without employing any Property to do it with, but manifestly deceiving and cheating the Dupesto their Craft--To prevent all which, was manifestly the Intention of that Act, called Sir John Barnard's, as appears by making those Selling, subject to Five Hundred Pounds Penalty; all which was clearly well intended. But the *grand Imperfection* of that well intended Act, consists in the entire Omission of any Mode of *Proof* whereby to ascertain, that the Seller *was not* bona fide in Possession on the Day, *or Time of Sale*; for want of whereof, the intended Benefit of the Act has been eluded, and rendered of little Service, in Comparison of the Author's Intention.

A new Act to establish a proper Mode of Proof, either by previously Registering, or by the Buyer having legal Authority to demand Examination of the Transfer Books, evidently appears the proper and effectual Method to prevent the ruinous Consequences of the former and present iniquitous Practice of *Stock-Jobbing*, so fatal to a very great Number of Men and Families, who might otherwise have become very serviceable to the State and the Public, in a mercantile Capacity, or other laudable Vocations.

Buying for Time also, where the Buyer doth not intend, or cannot have any reasonable Expectation of, taking to,

and paying for, at the Time stipulated, is also unjustifiable.---But as these Cases will not admit of Proof, and as Buying for Time is needful, in respect of Foreigners, and in respect of *public Credit*, and of the Supplies, I am of the Judgment 'tis neither absolutely needful, nor practicable, to prevent it otherwise, than by the Check of a Register to confine it to Moderation.

MINERVA.

Abril 20, 1771.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser,

By Another AUTHOR.

S I R,

THE following Thoughts were committed to Paper, and intended for Publication last Week, when the Suspension of Public Entertainments might have recommended them to the Perusal of some, who, otherwise rarely find Leisure, or Disposition, for Attention to such Subjects. By Accident that Opportunity has escaped; but as the Subject remains of equal Importance, I beg you will give it the first spare Place in your Paper, and I may hereafter address you on Topics, better adapted to the Taste of the Generality of your Readers; In the mean Time,

I am

Your humble Servant,

A Friend to Mankind.

That

THAT we must *die* is a Position as indisputable and self-evident as that we *live*. A Truth which every Day, every Hour, confirms, and of which some of us have had too sensible Experience, in the Diffolution of Connections, almost as dear to us, as that Existence, which we must, also, one Day or other, lay down, at the Appoinment of Him who gave it. *When* that awful Period may arrive, is (happily for our Enjoyment of that Portion of Time on this Side of it) uncertain ; but it is not so that with *many* of us it may be very soon, and with *all*, can be but for a few short Years removed. *Few* of the Events of our Lives admit of such Certainty ; none will be found of equal Importance. To endeavour, on the Minds of Christian Readers, the Impression of the Existence of a God, must at best be esteemed a Waste of Time. I trust there are none, who read this, that can Want an Argument to convince them of this only Foundation of Religion or Virtue. The most unenlightened Ages have borne Testimony to it. Heathens, and even Barbarians, have acknowledged a Deity in the Works of his Creation. Every Leaf in the expanded Volume of Creation confirms the important Truth. “ The Heavens declare the Glory of God, and the Firmament sheweth his handy Work ; Day unto Day uttereth Speech, and Night unto Night sheweth Knowledge.” Supported by this Faith, the Evils of Humanity are rendered tolerable ; without it, our whole System here, if System it can be called, is imperfect, intricate, and gloomy. The Belief, or Idea, of a Supreme Being necessarily comprehends that of his Attributes :

“ If there’s a Power above us,
 (And that there is, all Nature cries aloud
 Through all her Works) he must delight in Virture ;
 And that which he delights in must be happy.”

Inscrutable, however, as the Nature of the Supreme Being may be, in this we may safely repose, that all his Ways are just. That as he has given to us (amidst his other Works) an Existence, it is in order to his own Glory; and, if we thwart not this Purpose, to our Happiness also. That Human Life, on the fairest and most partial Estimate, is inadequate in its Gratifications, to the Desires of a rational and contemplative Possessor of it, will scarcely be controverted. The thinking Mind is anxious for a Retreat, beyond the narrow Confines of Humanity, feels something superior to that Form of Matter, with which it is connected for the transitory Scenes of this Life's Stage; and which, when these are acted, will make one with inanimate Dust, no more to be distinguished.

How dreadful the Apprehension of Annihilation, the miserable Subterfuge of Infidelity! How comfortable, in the Eye of Christianity, the Prospect of an Existence, exempted from the Disquietudes and Perturbations inseparable from Humanity! For, alas! Disquietude and Perturbation are the Lot of Man! and where shall we find the Station that can elude their Attack? Can Power, Wealth or Titles secure their Possessors from the Intrusion of Sorrow, or say unto Affliction, begone? On the contrary, how, frequently do they expose them to Anxieties, which inferior Situations escape? as the more humble Trees of the Forest weather the Storm which levels the proud Cedar to the Earth. Our Comfort in this Life often depends much more upon our Conduct than Station, and Good and Evil will be found much more equally distributed than on a superficial View they may appear. All see the external Glare of a Palace, and the humble Roof of a Cottage, but all are not privy to the Situations of their Inhabitants. If these were more impartially discriminated they would make Converts to Resignation.

But

But it is no less true that “ there is sometimes one Event to the Righteous and to the Wicked ;” and good Men, it must be confessed, are, not seldom, made to drink many a bitter Potion, whilst the Wicked prosper in an almost uninterrupted Participation of this Life’s choicest Gifts. Vice reign triumphant in the Enjoyment of every Gratification which Power and Wealth can bestow, whilst Virtue, allied to Poverty, drags on a wretched Existence, abandoned by the World, and bereft of every Consolation but the Consciousness of having acted uprightly. How shall we reconcile this to the Justice of the Supreme Being ? If in this Life only the Virtuous have Hope, they are of all Men the most miserable. But surely it is not so ! The same omnipotent Being that has formed us in the Image we now bear can with equal Facility appoint to our better Part (that Part which we feel independent of Matter, and which we cannot without Horror assign to Annihilation) another Existence when these outward Frames shall descend to the Grave and Oblivion.

In the Prospect of a future State every Cloud of Error and Obscurity is dispelled, and “ all partial Evil stands confessedly Universal Good.” It is in that State the anxious Struggles of conflicting Virtue may expect an ample Recompence, and a satisfactory Solution of every apparent Inequality in the Distribution of earthly Dispensations. It is in the Firm and unshaken Confidence in the Existence of a God that we can alone have solid Hope, and in the Belief of a future State, that we can alone be reconciled to our Ideas of his Wisdom and Justice.

These Principles can alone afford us a true Relish of Prosperity, shelter us from the rude Storms of Adversity, and enable us with Dignity and Resignation to sustain the
“ many

“ many Evils which do so easily beset us.” We need not resort to the Wretched for a Proof of how little Estimation is the Life of Man. Enquire of those few (if such can be found) who have seldom known Sorrow, whose Habitations Adversity has never visited; in whose Cheeks Health has never glowed, whose Coffers have been always full, and who have rarely felt the Absence of any external Good. Ask the rich Man, the Monarch, the Philosopher, or even the virtuous Man (when they shall have sustained the Portion of seventy Years, allotted to Humanity) whether, if the Election was in their Power, they would enter a second Time Life’s Stage, and play the self-same Part? They will all Answer, No; so inadequate are the Objects of Time to the Satisfaction of an immortal Spirit, aspiring after an Existence, which it feels more congenial to its Nature. Seeing then that the Existence of a Supreme Being, clothed with the glorious Attributes of Power, Wisdom, and Goodness, is a Point so conspicuously established, and so universally assented to, can we possibly be too solicitous to obtain his Approbation? Whether it may consist with the Divine Nature, in his Attributes of Fore-knowledge and Mercy, to inflict everlasting Punishment on Crimes committed by frail Humanity, or not? In this we may surely confide, that he will not disregard the unfeigned Sacrifices of sensual and selfish Gratifications, to his Glory, and the Good of our Fellow Creatures; not fail to distinguish, with peculiar Approbation, in a *future State* of Existence, those who in *this* have been dedicated to his Service. These Observations are deduced from natural Reason, and the Analogy and Fitness of Things. An attentive Perusal of the Sacred Writings of Scripture will afford, to those who are wise and happy enough to consult them, Motives to Virtue and Religion, of much higher Obligation.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

SUFFER me through the Channel of your diffusive Paper, to recommend to the mature Consideration of the Committee (for lowering the Price of Provisions) and their Constituents, of how much Importance it may prove to investigate the true Causes of the late and present *high Prices* thereof, in order that the large Sums raised with so benevolent and praise-worthy Intention, may most effectually answer the End of affording Relief to such who most stand in need *thereof*; which I presume should be, and is, the Aim and Design of the most humane, charitable and beneficent of Mankind. To proceed then, if we look back and examine History about 220 Years since, in the Reign of Henry VIII. Provisions were only about one eighth, or at most one sixth Part of the present Prices; and the Variation in the two next succeeding Reigns does not appear to have been considerable; but in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, of glorious Memory, great and manifold were the Complaints of the People about the advanced Prices and Dearness of Provisions, insomuch that then, as now, it came under the Notice of Parliament, &c. for Redress.—And here let the Reader pause and consider, that it was during this Period, and the preceding and succeeding Parts of that ever memorable Reign, that the *Navigation*, and therewith, the *Trade* and *Commerce* of this growing powerful Nation was so remarkably extended, at the Expence and Loss of the before famous Hanse Towns, who, previous to that Æra, carried on nearly all the Trade of Europe. It was also during this Reign that the Settling of America with Plantations from Europe took Place, and the Mines of

of *Peru* and *Mexico* being discovered, and the Riches thereof being extracted and transported to Europe, in return for the Manufactures of this Country, at once greatly extended our Manufactures, and enriched the Nation also, with Gold and Silver. The Consequence was inevitable ; as Ambition is a frequent Concomitant of Wealth, and oft the prompting Cause, so is the Prevalence of Ambition and Wealth too frequently the Cause of Luxury ; and hence the advanced Prices and Dearness of Provision, so heavily complained of in that Reign. So also in the succeeding Reigns, in which Trade and Commerce has flourishing to the enriching the Nation ; Provisions have constantly increased in Value, as well as also the Value of Estates, which pretty generally will be found to bear some considerable Analogy in Proportion ; and now to bring the Consideration of the same operating Cause home to the present Age, let us only look back to what was the Case only twelve, or fifteen Years ago, during the War, Provisions were then abundantly lower than at present ; but as soon as Peace was established, great Numbers of Foreigners came over to see after their new Estates, in our accumulated Stocks, or Funds, which filled the Town, &c. with Multitudes of Strangers, and with the disbanded Officers, Troops and Sailors, so concurred to fill the Town, that Provisions were temporarily effected thereby, and Rents much increased.

But what has most contributed to the Continuance and Increase of the Dearness of Provisions and high Rents, is the same Sort of Cause, which produced similar Effects in the Reign before-mentioned, viz. increase of Riches, either real or imaginary ; for let it be considered that although our transferable Stocks are, with few Exceptions, what
may

may be, not unfitly called, ideal, or fictitious Wealth, yet like a Paper Currency, while Public Credit remains inviolate, answers to the Proprietors nearly the End of real substantial Wealth, in regard of his Capacity, to expend, or indulge in Luxury, and in Consequence of about Seventy Millions of this newly created additional ideal Wealth, attended with an Increase of annual Annuities and Dividends, to the Amount of more than Two Millions a Year, so empowering the People (an Allowance for Foreigners holding in our Funds excepted) to expend Two Millions in a Year more than they could without it, in Consequence thereof, and of our many new acquired Plantations and Settlements in America, soon after the Peace took Place, Provisions and Estates increased in Value, and so continued; and became a few Years after, viz. in the Year 1766, further increased, by our very lucrative Acquisitions in the East-Indies, which whatever Misconduct may have lately arisen, did, for a Time, cause an Influx of Riches, to the Amount of near Two Millions a Year more, much of which being laid out in purchasing Estates at such Prices as the Nabobs, &c. could get them at, with Wealth easily acquired in haste, and thus as hastily laid out in Purchases. This raised the Value of Lands, and in Consequence the Rents of Lands, and, in Consequence of which the Farmer necessarily raising the Price of his lean Cattle, and the Price of Pasturage advancing with the Lands and Rents, the Ox or Sheep, &c. must necessarily sell for more than before, to make it answer to rear them; so is it all, or mostly, through a Concatination of Causes, found to be arising from the *Increase of Wealth*, real and imaginary; other more minute Causes may, and do, cooperate, such as inclosing Commons, engrossing Farms, unnecessary Salesmen, and Carcase Butchers, &c. But I

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affirm

affirm the principal Cause is, the Increase of *real* or *ideal Wealth*, creating a Capacity to expend larger Sums, and consequently to indulge in Luxury more than before ; and if Public Credit was to fail generally, in respect of the Stocks, (which Heaven avert, and I think will scarce happen, but from the woeful Misfortune of an unsuccessful War, and which I would willingly hope at a great Distance) it would do much more towards making Provisions cheap again than all the Efforts now making, or that can otherwise be made ; and therefore of two Evils let us be content to acquiesce in the least, saving always the necessary laudable Endeavours to relieve the indigent, labouring, or manufacturing *Poor*, who, I presume, to be the *fittest Objects* for the Attention and Benevolence of the praise-worthy Subscribers and their Committee.

I would therefore recommend, in lieu of an ineffectual Attempt to lower the Price of Provisions in general, which would be (if effectual) of Advantage to the Rich and Poor indiscriminately, that the Provisions, when purchased, may be given away, or sold at *Half Price*, to such poor manufacturing, or labouring People, who have *large Families*, and who are the People who suffer most, and want most *Relief* on Account of the *Dearness of Provisions* ; and it should be given in Proportion to the Numbers, Infancy, and other Incapacity of such Families, of which the Master, Manufacturers and Workmen will probably be found competent Judges, on proper Enquiry, and those Poor, who, being in Health, and having work, have *no Families*, will *not* need *Help*, since the Price of Provisions will keep them to their Work another Day or two in the Week, which they might otherwise spend at the Alehouse, &c. to the

the *Prejudice* of the Manufactures and their Masters, of their own Health and Morals.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
April 27, 1772.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

THE Letter under the Signature of *Millions*, in the Ledger of this Day, representing the Honour of the Nation to be at Stake, and making it (in Effect) indispensably necessary to resent, the Conduct of the Court of Denmark, by *Military Measures*, has occasioned me to animadvert on the Nature and *Consequences* of the Occasion, and of the *Measures* there recommended, and so warmly supported by plausible, but, I do presume, *superficial Arguments*.

I am not insensible that the *Honour of the Nation* is of much Importance, nor do I presume to ascertain, how far it may, or cannot be maintained by *pacific Measures*. That I presume is only the proper Province of Ministers, who see and know the Nature of the several relative Dispatches and Advices; but this I do know, however warm a Military Officer may wish for War, either for his own and his Friends Emolument, it is a Matter of the first *Magnitude*, to deliberately consider before it is too late, what Allies may, with any Degree of Probability, emerge in the Cause of Denmark; and how tremendous

may be the Case, (never before essayed by any Nation on the Globe) of commencing a War with an accumulated Public Debt of upwards of *One Hundred and Thirty Millions*, including a moderate Computation of the Life Annuities, which were omitted in a Calculation lately published, no human Wisdom can, with any considerable Degree of Probability, ascertain how dreadful may be the Consequences; and although an *Officer* may indulge a vain Expectation of Success, and the Lucre attending it, it would yet be, in my Judgment, a much better Demonstration of his Penetration and Abilities, to only consider the precarious Situation of an Army, or a Navy, whose *pay* must, as hath been the Case during the Whole of this Century, depend on the future Success of *borrowing Money*, which, in my humble Judgment, hath been already carried abundantly too far, and may greatly endanger not only the *Honour*, but the very Being of this Nation.

Respect being had to our present *happy Constitution*, the enormous Size of the Public Debt excepted, pray, *Millions*, be pleased to consider, what must be the Case when *Public Credit* fails, under the mighty Load of a vast accumulated Debt? who will then pay the Officers, the Navy, or the Army; and who will fight *without Pay*? It has long appeared to me as a Matter of the highest national Concern (if it be by any pacific Means possible) to maintain the Honour of the Nation *without War*, and so to preserve *Peace* until the vast Public Debt be somewhat lessened, and from thence Government may find it practicable to borrow again on easy Terms; but for want of which timely Precaution, if our most gracious King, and his Ministers, were as warm and so bent on War as this Officer, *Millions*, the Nation might unhappily become involved in irretrievable Ruin.

I ardently

I ardently hope, therefore, it may be found practicable by Wisdom and Patience, with lenient Measures, to preserve both the Honour and the *Peace* of the Nation.

Vice is usually, and ought to be, punished by the Laws of every Country where the Crime is committed ; but when it exceeds the Bounds of Justice and Reason, it then may become Criminal in the State, or in the Administrators of the Laws thereof ; how far it may be the Duty, or proper Concern of this Government to consider the State of Denmark, or Laws, or Administration, in this last mentioned Light, I do not presume to judge, not having the necessary Materials by which to form a Judgment aright ; but I heartily wish those, whose proper Province it is, may be rightly directed, “ by that *Wisdom* which comes from *above*,” “ which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of Mercy and good Fruits, without Partiality, and without Hypocrisy.

A M O R P A T R I Æ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
April 30, 1772.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

AT this very critical Season, when the Reformation of the Church, or the Practices and System of Faith thereunto appertaining, is under so very respectable Consideration, * it may be well for any one suitably qualified, to propose any useful Remarks, respecting the most remarkable Absurdities, which having unhappily obtained in former Ages of
Papistical

* A Bill was then proposed in Parliament, respecting the 39 Articles.

Papistical Darkneſs and Superſtition, were as unhappily retained by the reformed Proteſtant eſtabliſhed Church, whoſe Votaries, although commendable in emerging from many very ſuperſtitious Articles of the Church of Rome, have nevertheless concurred to adopt and hand down to Poſterity, ſome Tenets, not reconcileable to the Holy Scriptures, to right Reaſon, or to common Senſe; and as ſuch may be conſidered diſgraceful to the Profeſſors of the *Chriſtian Religion*, of which they are not really any Part, as not having been enjoined, inforced, or recommended by any Precept of Chriſt, or his Apoſtles. I do not in this Letter propoſe to enter into all the Particulars of the Thirty-nine Articles, many of which are very well, and ſome others leſs ſo, but for the preſent I purpoſe to confine my Remarks to *four Heads*, the Impropriety whereof I think can ſcarcely have eſcaped the ſilent Remarks of every conſiderate Member of the eſtabliſhed Church.

The firſt is, the *Athanaſian Creed*, unintelligible, and irrational, not capable of Demonſtration, by any Principles of Truth, or by the Holy Scriptures; and therefore the Creed appears as it were requiring falſe Pretences, or Untruths, from its Profeſſors, who cannot underſtand it, and cannot with Truth and Sincerity be properly ſaid to believe what they are incapable of underſtanding; or of reconciling to the *divine Principle* of *right Reaſon*, illuminated by the *Grace of God*, or to the *Scriptures of Truth*--ſo may it be ſaid, putting Untruths into the Mouths of thoſe who are catechiſed therefrom.

The ſecond Head is, *Sprinkling of Infants*, very ungrammatically, and improperly, called *Baptiſm*, for which Adminiſtration to Infants of a few Days, there cannot be found either Precept, or Practice in all the *Holy Scriptures*;

nor

nor cannot be rationally, or consistent with common Sense, supposed to convey, or infuse any intellectual Improvement to Infants, newly born and helpless. Abundance more Materials, for supporting *adult Baptism*, or plunging into, or dipping in, or washing with *pure Water*, is found in the Scriptures, as in the River Jordan, &c. but I do not remember it any where in Holy Writ, enjoined otherwise than consequent to preceding Faith and Belief, which is not applicable to Infants of a few Days; and what ever Advantage may arise from real Water Baptism, or plunging into Water, as did the Disciples of Christ in the River Jordan, &c. I will not hesitate to suppose, that consistent with Scripture Records, if Christians, finding it necessary, and having Faith therein, do, of their own rational Faith and Motion, baptize themselves, it may be of as *much Service* as if done by, or under the Direction of, any Parson in priestly Office, and much more by an Adult, or Youth, of suitable intellectual Advancement, doing it for himself, when necessary, and in Faith, than by the most eminent Officiate to a New-born Infant, at such Time, in a State incapable of intellectual Improvement.

The third Head I mean to touch on, is, the presumptuous and impracticable Promises required to be made by those who are commonly called Godfathers and Godmothers, and which *Names* might be very proper if the Performance of such high Obligations were to them possible and effected; but it may be fairly presumed such Performance cannot be effected for others, especially by human Nature; and therefore are such Promises wholly unfit to be made a Practice of, in the promiscuous Manner they usually are: It being the proper Attribute of God alone, by his Holy Spirit, to convey such estimable Graces, Blessings, and godlike Virtues, to the Human Species, as are in a
common

common Rote-Way, absurdly promised by poor, incapable, finite, and sinful Fellow Mortals, to poor innocent Babes, who are, without such ineffectual Security, under the Protection of an omniscient, over-ruling, bountiful Providence; and may be safely trusted there, until capable of Age and Capacity to receive and understand the necessary Tuition, as instrumental under the same Providence, to improve and exalt their intellectual Powers; and then, as far as such Tuition, &c. is found to be practicable, it is the proper Province of the Parents of the Child, as far as they are capable, to use religious and rational Means of instilling into their little Minds the Principles of Religion and Virtue, and which is all either *Parents*, or other *Sponsors*, can with Safety engage for.

The fourth Head, which I call an Absurdity is Part of the matrimonial Ceremony, “*With my Body I thee worship;*” which Term, however it may have been used in former Ages, is now, as I conceive, constantly understood to describe the *reverential* Effort of the mental Faculties, or that *Adoration* which ariseth in the grateful *Soul* to the Divine Author of his Being and Bliss, and by no Means proper to be applied to a mere Woman as an Object, as every absurd Deviation from Scripture Precepts, and from divinely illuminated, sound Reason, has a Tendency to invalidated, the *System*, of which such deviating Tenets are a Part.

There may be many other useful Remarks made, respecting other Parts of the established System, but these being what must be obvious to every rational Reader, I could not well forbear submitting them openly to the Animadversion of those whose proper Concern it may be
to

to promote a *Reformation*: And I will even presume to wish, that the Head of the Church, would graciously design to stir up the dignified Clergy, to so necessary and good a *Work*.

T. C.

Gracechurch-Street,
May 4, 1772.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

THE very dangerous Extension of Paper Credit to that enormous Size of late experienced, although it may not be safe to suppress it too hastily, should nevertheless be wisely guarded against in future, and I conceive cannot easily be accounted for, respecting the Cause, but from the too great Prevalence of *unjustifiable Ambition*, distinguishing between that which is so by *unsafe Extension*, (not duly circumscribed within the Bounds of the excellent Principle of *right Reason*) and that which may be *laudable*, by having beneficial Ends in View, and being properly regulated by Prudence; the former has been unhappily too much indulged, so as to become one of the most prevalent and dangerous Vices of the present Age. Suffer me, therefore, through the Channel of your diffusive Paper, to expostulate with the unhappy and cruel Possessors of this (of late) *enormous Crime*, which has in its Consequences involved so many Families, and so great a Number of Victims in *utter Ruin*.

If the Magnitude of, and Punishment due to, *any Vice*, be judged of by its Consequences, surely this is one of the greatest: *Cursed Ambition*, let loose from the absolutely necessary Controul of *Reason*, is ever big with Mischief; and has often involved, not only Persons and Families, but whole Nations in *irretrievable Ruin*. How dreadful, therefore, ought it to appear to the View of every benevolent Man! Would it not much more contribute to the *Peace, Consolation* and *true Happiness* of every Individual, to study to be content in an humble, or moderate Station of Life, than so foolishly to indulge a Vanity, in so unboundedly grasping after Riches and Grandeur, by the Means which so manifestly endanger Loss of Peace, Loss of Reputation, Loss of Liberty, and perhaps of Life to themselves, and to Multitudes of others, labouring under Disadvantages, entailed on them thereby.

Suffer me, therefore, (taking Occasion from these calamitous Times) to persuade the *Ambitious* to take Warning, and let other Men's Harms teach them to beware, so that it may become a useful Study to learn to be content with Moderation; so circumscribing their Commerce and Concerns within *reasonable Bounds*: Respect being had to the particular Fortune of each; and also to confine their Method of Life and Expences within the Bounds of their Income, and reserving a reasonable Proportion to guard against Accidents, and to provide for Incidents; which is no more than a reasonable Duty, which every one owes to himself, his Family, and the Public Weal. Thus might Credit and Confidence become restored, and the Balm of Content, the Portion of the Good, succeed to the Delusion and Desolation of violent Ambition, the Plague of Men and Ages.

Be careful, therefore, as you tender the Happiness of Yourself, your Families, your Friends, and your Country, to moderate and confine this *Passion*, by the constant Exercise of that *noble Principle*, which the *gracious, all-wise God* hath given every Man a Portion of, and for *his Guide* (if not neglected, or resisted) through the many Vicissitudes of Human Affairs, in this *State of Probation*.

T. C.

Gracechurch-Street,

June 29, 1772.

For the PUBLIC LEDGER:

Country-Houses great Enemies to Tradesmen in London.

Having adopted for my Motto a favourite Observation of my own, you will oblige me in publishing the following Dissertation.

IF we duely consider the Insufficiency of Human Reason, to previously discover the many Rocks and Quickfands, on which even the wisest and best of Men may become shipwrecked, if they steer without recurring to the Benefit of that *Experience*, which either others, or themselves, may have reaped from former Precedents; it appears but a reasonable Duty for those who have traversed the slippery Paths of *Danger*, to point out to the Young, and the Unexperienced, of how much Importance it is, in respect of his Duty and true Interest, to manage his Affairs with *Discretion*, and particularly in respect of their *good Government*

of their *Families* and *Servants*, which is of much higher Importance to the Safety and *Welfare* of a *London Tradesman* than most People seem to think. 'Tis an old, though vulgar Adage, "When the Cat is out of the Way the Mice will play :". The manifestly Difficulty of preserving two Houses and Families in *good Order*, compared with that of keeping one *so*, is so very *obvious* to every thinking Person, (who must be conscious that he cannot be with both at the same Time) that little need be said more, than to remind a Man, of even common Prudence, of how much Importance it is to the Happiness of his Family, in the best Sense, to avoid the great Evils attending *Country-Houses*. Unless the unavoidable Part in Cases where bad State of Health makes them necessary, and where really *necessary* and *proper* to preserve *Health*, I know of no other reasonable Inducement sufficient to counterpoise the Multitude of Expences, neglect of Business, and Immoralities, which are (in many Families, and among neglected Servants) the usual Consequences of this *fashionable Luxury*, too often indulged, at the Expence of Fortune, Reputation, and Virtue.

I therefore recommend all *young Tradesmen* to prudently consider, in due Season, the probable Consequences of a *Country-House*, before they engage therein: An Increase of Expences, on moderate Computation, from *One* to *Three* Hundred Pounds per Year, neglect of Shop, Warehouse, or mercantile Business, perhaps the Inattention to, or neglect of the necessary *Overfight* and *Tuition* of *Children*, the Dissipation and Depravity of Servants, inconsistent with that Oversight, and just Regard which every Master of a Family owes towards their *Well-being*, and therein, in great Measure, his own and Family's Safety. Multitudes of Instances have occurred to the Experienced, sufficient to prove how unsafe it is to leave either *Children*, or *Servants* without

without proper *Superintendance* and Government, and to teach also the Difficulty of maintaining it *properly*, where both Town and Country Houses are kept at the same Time. Many are the Lessons which the Experienced Observer must necessarily have learned on this Head ; and it is but doing good to the *Unexperienced* to point out the Danger.

And where the State of Health makes the Country really necessary to a *London Tradesman*, or Family, it is of much Importance to form and pursue as good a Check on both Families, as the Nature of each particular Case will admit, by a proper Deputation, and perhaps by the Master's occasional, unexpected Visits, and without keeping *to constant fixt Times*, so to let each find themselves liable to *Oversight* every Day, and at any Time of the Day.

I hope some may be happy enough in their Families and Servants as not to need this Advice ; but as there is too much Reason to suspect their Number to be but few in Comparison, they will be kind enough to the Author to bear with this, on Account of the *many* to whom it may belong.

T. C.

Gracchurch-Street,
July 1, 1772.

May it please your Lordship,

AS so many hundred, I may say thousands, honest, well-meaning Men and Families have been ruined by the infamous Practice of Stock-Jobbing People, called *Bears*,
selling

selling fictitious Stock, of which they are not in Possession, and the consequent most dangerous and villainous Practice of dishonest Ways and Means, subsequent to such illegal Sales, too usually made use of by such Bears, to answer the unjustifiable Purpose of depreciating such Stock, in order to buy in cheaper, and so worm the Buyer out of a Difference, if his, or his Friend's Money should not be wholly ready at the Period agreed on; a Circumstance not uncommon, especially among Merchants, who correspond and do such Business for Foreigners.

I am one of those who have at Heart, to procure the Making of the present *Bill effectual*; I know many of these very artful, cunning People, the *Bears*, affect to persuade Mankind, that this Sort of Jobbing is of Service, in keeping up the Price of Stocks; but I am persuaded your Lordship's *Penetration* is much more extensive than to be so deceived, and you will pardon me in only putting your Lordship, in mind, how absurd it is to suppose that such Sort of Means, which are too constantly made Use of to depreciate the Stocks, in order they may avail themselves of a Difference, can possibly operate to the Credit of the same Stock, and I am mistaken if such *Bears* do not find it, for the Means of such unjustifiable Gain, their pecuniary Interest to depreciate the Stocks five Days in Seven, the Year round on an Average; so is it false Reasoning to urge this infamous and dishonourable Practice (using dishonest Means) as a Means of keeping up the Credit of our Stocks; the very contrary is manifest to the Intelligent. I therefore do earnestly hope for your Lordship's Patronage of the present Bill, depending before the House, in order it may happily become effectual this Session, I crave your Lordship's Pardon for this Freedom, and do
indulge

indulge a Hope that my *manifest Motive* may apologize for me in excuse.

I am, very respectfully,

Your Lordship Well-wishing Friend,

T. C.

Usually AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
June 2, 1773.

I hope your Lordship will pardon me further on Account of my *Motive*, while I *hint* to your Consideration, that I do indulge a Hope of your Lordship's effectually taking up the very important Concerns of the mighty Evils, which impend from the unhappy and manifest Imperfection of all the American Charters, not proving sufficient for the Manner of their being govern'd and *assess'd*, towards their own Protection and Defence: I am very sensible of the Importance, and the Time spent, in adjusting East-India Affairs to the Interest of the Public, and as that appears now near a Completion, God grant you may exert your well-known Abilities, in introducing, and supporting a proper Bill, *in the Upper House*, which with his *Majesty's* Concurrence will be an everlasting Honour to his Government, to this Nation, and in particular, to your *Lordship's Administration*.

Idem,

T. C.

P. S. Whereas the Stock Brokers have given out that it will expose to the Buyers what Quantity of Stock the Seller

Seller hath in Possession, this is another false Representation, since the Bill only requires to ascertain the Buyer whether the Seller hath only the Quantity of Stock so sold to the Buyer, as may appear by the Certificate, without going any further to be satisfied of what the Seller has besides.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

SUFFER me, through the Channel of your very useful, impartial Paper, to remonstrate a little with those unjustifiable, avaritious Authors, who have in this Day's Paper so foolishly, and so barefacedly wrote against the well-meaning, beneficial, constitutional Bill, now passed the House of Commons, and depending in the House of Lords, for suppressing the most flagitious, ruinous, and deceitful Part of the *infamous Practice of Stock-Jobbing*, which, for want of a legal Method of making *Proof*, and which was before unhappily omitted to be made a Part of the former, called Sir John Barnard's well-intended Act, hath so unhappily prevailed, to the Ruin of so many thousands of honest, well-meaning Men and Families, as almost daily Experience has evinced beyond Contradiction; and has also basely inur'd to the Wounding, or Destruction of the Public Credit of the Stocks, by their, the bearish Gentry, selling fictitious Stock, what they have not, and then by unjustifiable, wicked and fallacious Means depreciating the same Stock, in order to buy in cheaper, and so dishonestly worming the Buyers out of great Difference, thereby making such violent Fluctuations, that the real monied Stock-holder, or intending to become so, is intimidated from buying, lest such uncertain, precarious, and violent
Falling

Falling of Price, brought about to make such base Gains, should occasion his selling out again at *Loss*, when his Occasions may ensue so to sell.

And now in order to undeceive their Readers, respecting the Effects, they falsely pretend such infamous *Stock-Jobbing* hath on the Credit of the Stocks; it is but doing every real honest Stock-holder Justice, to use reasonable Means, to inform him better, and so to prevent such *dangerous Deception*: Be it therefore known that these infamous Writers, in Favour of Stock-Jobbing, and against the righteous Bill in Question, asserting the Bill to lay Taxes upon the Stocks, appears of a Piece with the rest of their Practices, an infamous, wicked Deceit, there being no such Clause, or Intention in the Bill, which they well-know, as also that constant Practice of using Endeavours to buy in cheaper, has a certain Tendency not to mend, as they very falsely assert, but to lower the Credit of Stocks; but 'tis an old useful Proverb, "Touch a gall'd Horse on the Back and he will wince." It is not a Fear of depreciating the Stocks, which has in the least contributed to their so kicking, and wincing, and bouncing about; but 'tis because there is in this Bill a very necessary and salutary Clause, to make it effectually answer the professed Intention of both this, and the former one, but unhappily left out of the former, viz. that of "establishing a Mode, whereby the deceived Buyer may have it in his Power to make legal Proof of the Seller's Delinquency, where he Sins against the main Spirit and Intention of the Act, in fictitiously selling what he has not; which Bill, for the Sake of Public Good, for reasonable Relief to Buyers, otherwise liable to ruinous Deceptions, and for the Good and Support of permanent Credit to the Stocks in general, I do (as a Lover of my Country) heartily wish may pass into a Law, which I do verily believe

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will

will be attended with very great general Good, and prevent a vast deal of private, as well as public Evil.

I therefore am animated with Ardour to entreat every Lord of Parliament to join issue with the Commons, in giving their well-becoming beneficial Assent to this most valuable Bill, so very necessary for the Security of the honest, well-meaning *Buyer* and *Possessor of Stock* ; and to prevent the designing *Knave* from trappanng him, by Sale of fictitious Stock, of which he is not in Possession, and the *usual Consequences* attending.

MINERVA.

Gracechurch-Street,
June 16, 1773.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

On the STOCK-JOBGING BILL.

BE pleased to insert in your valuable Paper the following *Answers* to the Bearish Stock-Jobbers *farther Reasons* against the *most valuable* BILL now depending, for preventing the infamous Practice of *Stock-Jobbing*, humbly addressed to the Right Hon. the Lords of Parliament, viz. .

1st. and 2d. Articles. These Allegations are literally point blank *false*, which clearly be speak from *whom* they came, viz. a People who unwarrantably get Estates by selling fictitious Stock, of which they are not in Possession, and whose Lives are *Flaskehood* and Deceit.

3d.

3d, 4th, and 5th Articles. The Bill in Question is not intended, nor does it mention any such Matter as preventing *Time Bargains*, so these Objections are very unnecessary and absurd.

6th. This is a very *absurd* Way of Reasoning, to suppose that Jobbers, selling what they have *not*, and then, in Consequence, constantly finding their Interest in beating down the *Price*, in order to buy in cheaper, and so deceive out of a Difference, should by so doing keep up the Credit of the same Stock. The very Reverse is every Day's Experience.

7th. This Bill will be no Clog, or Restriction to Dealers in *real Stock*, either for Time, or Money, but may happily remove that Clog which already subsists.

8th. This appears to be a very weak and bad Excuse, and evidently shews the Badness of the Heart of those People, who, being used to sell fictitious Stock, do now fear being prevented by the principal Clause in the Bill, which was unhappily left out in the former, called Sir John Bernard's Act, whereby it became ineffectual, viz. that of empowering the Buyer to make *legal Proof*, whether the Seller is, or *is not*, in Possession at the Time of Sale.

N. B. Not how much the Seller hath in his Possession, standing on the Transfer Books, but *only and alone*, if he hath the *Quantity* so on the Day, at any Time in Question sold to *such Buyer*, who may from the doubtful Appearance of the Seller have Reason to be dissatisfied, and cannot be satisfied without the Clerk's Examination of the Transfer Books, and without which Means of Proof the 500l. Fine in Sir John Bernard's Act is, and has been, ever since found delusive and in vain.

9th. Appears delusive, and wants no Arguments to disprove.

10th. As to a *Tax* on the *Funds*, it is quite a false Alarm, no such Thing being in Agitation; but this shews also the Shifts they are, through the Badness of their Cause, put to:

11th: This Michief will ten Times better, and more effectually be prevented, by the depending Act, than by repealing Sir John Bernard's, which *repealing* would certainly have this very dreadful Consequence, that whereas the ineffectual Fines and Discouragements therein have not prevented the *Bearish Stock-Jobbers* from ruining vast Numbers, if those Restrictions were to be taken off, it is extremely probable, that the dangerous, ruinous, flagitious Practice would greatly increase, and become more general, to the great Hurt of both public and private Credit; so would it be a great public Evil, either to repeal Sir John Bernard's Act, or to throw out this honest, well-meaning Bill; which, from the Principles of *Justice, Reason, and sound Policy*, ought certainly to pass into a Law.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
June 21, 1773.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

THE following Article appeared in a Daily Paper on Monday : “ We hear from the Highlands, that within these three Months 160 young Men have been enlisted in the Service of a certain Northern Power.”

Having taken Occasion, from the above Paragraph, to consider the dangerous Consequence of *Depopulation* in this Country, and how much the Nation suffers thereby, in Point of real Riches, Strength, and Importance, in respect of *contending Powers*, in which Light we have at all Times too much Reason to have a jealous Eye on, not only the aspiring foreign Powers on the Continent, but also at present; and so far our very dangerous, unsettled, unprincipled, and unconstitutional Part of these Dominions, who, in the present *inconsistent*, unwise Mode, and dangerous Situation of partial and incoherent Government do (without some effectual Relief be soon applied) very imminently endanger the whole Fabrick of the British Constitution, to which our Lives and Liberties are so essentially connected.

We appear, by a Multitude of Facts to suffer Foreigners to recruit their Armies with British and Irish Men and Horses, the former of which we can by no Means spare; and the latter not only strengthens our Enemies, and weakens ourselves, but also too much encourages the Breed of Horses here, to the great Damage of poor Manufacturers, and their Manufactures, by engrossing a vast Quantity of Land for Grass, which would raise Wheat, and make Bread cheap. We also appear to very supinely overlook the very great growing Danger of suffering Emigration of Manufacturers

facturers from Ireland, Scotland, and England to America ; so taking out of the Scale of taxable Subjects, and putting into the opposite *Scale*, so making hasty Strides towards the Time when the Numbers of Subjects in Great Britain, compared with America and Ireland, will become the *Minority*, who may have (if the present absurd System be continued) to defray the *whole Expences* of the Navy and Army, which is to protect both taxable and other Subjects (the Regiments on the Irish Establishment excepted) without America, or Ireland otherwise paying any Part thereof, but what they may pleased to vouchsafe to give, or let alone, which they like best, so far as regards legal constitutional Measures.—A dreadful Impropriety ! without a Parallel in any Part of the Globe, and which has shamefully, and to the everlasting Disgrace of British Ministers, been too long neglected, and if not soon, very soon constitutionally remedied, may, in all human Probability, become the utter Ruin of both Countries ; so it should be the Concern of those whose Province it is properly, to prevent further either Military, or Commercial Emigration, from this already too much *exhausted Country*. On the contrary, it would be much wiser to recruit with Supplies from other foreign Protestant Countries, and from Ireland, and to effectually prevent Manufacturers going from Ireland, Scotland, or from hence, until a more sensible and safe Connection be happily formed between these various Parts of the same King's Dominions, too unwisely (as yet) disconnected in Point of Taxation, and proportionably bearing a suitable Part of the immense Expence of the Navy and Army, which protects the whole of these Dominions.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
July 17. 1773.

For

To all true Lovers of their Country throughout the British Dominions, including America and Ireland.

FRIENDS and BRETHREN,

LET it be as seriously considered, as the Importance of the Subject requires, that the Americans appear at present, through an unjust, partial Self-love, to claim an Exemption which no other Subjects on Earth have ever enjoyed, or demanded, viz. that of being *protected* and *defended* by the *Navy* and *Army* of the Sovereign Power (under which they enjoy their Lives, Liberties and Property) without their *paying any Thing* towards the mighty Expences thereof, but what they shall vouchsafe to grant, or let alone, which they, by their *selfish Decisions*, shall like best.

The imminent threatening Danger of this impending, ruinous Principle, ought with Wisdom and Prudence to be speedily corrected and adjusted, by the Sovereign Power, in Parliament, assembled; and let every one singly contribute a Mite, by promoting happier and safer Sentiments.

A M O R P A T R I Æ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
July 16, 1773.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

PERMIT me, through the Channel of your diffusive Paper, to represent the Ingratitude of too many ignorant, discontented, malevolent People, who ought, under
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so mild a Government, to know their Duty better than to be continually spouting out odious Reflections upon the wise and good Measures of Government. When that is the Case, (and such I am clearly of the Judgment is the late Coinage Act) it appears to me very evident, that it is very fit and proper that every one who is wicked enough to make bad, or diminish good, Money, should be saddled with it in Possession, and suffer for their Folly; and also, that those who are, or have been so careless as to take such in Payment, should be each saddled with his own Loss, rather than the Innocent and Cautious of the Public should suffer for the Folly, or Carelessness of others, or that the Public at large should (by calling in) be great Sufferers for the Folly, or Carelessness of a Part, who have been guilty, it would be the ready Way to encourage further Guilt; and to saddle every one with the Loss arising from his own Folly, or his own Carelessness, is certainly not only the the most effectual Method to discourage Mal-practices, and Carelessness, but it is also abundantly more consistent with Justice and Equity, than it would be, to make the innocent Public, or Government, suffer by the Villainy, or Carelessness of a Part of the Subjects. I am, and think every one ought to be, a Friend to wise and good Government.

AMOR PATRIÆ,

*Gracechurch-Street,
August 13, 1773.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

SUFFER me just to point out a Measure which I conceive would operate to the Public Good, respecting the Coin of this Kingdom. It is well-known that Foreigners receiving

receiving somewhere about one and half Million a Year of the Produce of our Funds, operates to make the Ballance of Trade and Cash *against us*, relative to divers Countries, so that much of our Coin is exported, and doth not return: It appears to me, therefore, that it would be good Policy to make as little necessary here for Currency, Medium of Value, as possible; and that what is coined should as much as may be preserved among ourselves: To accomplish which two *profitable Measures*, I do not know better Expedients than for the Bank to issue Six Pounds, and Three Pounds Notes, Q. S. to make small Payments easy; and also to make the new Coin of an *increased Alloy*. I am clearly of the Judgment it would discourage the Exportation of our Coin, and would in Measure operate to cause Foreigners to take off our Manufactures instead of Cash, to make good the Ballance between this and other Nations; so would it be producing Employment for the Poor, and also Riches to the Nation:

And in Regard of what might nevertheless be afterwards exported, and remain, it would be a judicious saving of Difference between a fine and coarse Alloy, and also in good Measure prevent Temptation to Coin, by lessening the Profit thereof.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
August 14, 1773.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

AS I profess myself to be a real *Lover* of my Fellow Creatures, *Fellow Citizens*, and Mankind in general, and as in Consequence, I have an high Veneration for the truly valuable *Liberty* of the *Press*, as it certainly conduceth to promote general Knowledge, and to the Correction of Vice and Immoralities, so in Consequence, I cannot, without Regret and Indignation, observe the dangerous violent *Abuse* thereof, knowing that was not the *Clemency* and truly amiable *Principles* of our gracious Sovereign, to conduce to merciful Oversight, it might, and certainly hath a strong Tendency toward provoking Government to think of curtailing this inestimable Privilege of Writing and publishing freely, in order to prevent such wicked and notorious ABUSE, as we frequently see in our Daily Papers.

What has occasioned my taking Pen in Hand this Morning, is the very imprudent, wicked, undutiful, virulent, disloyal, and farcaetical Letter, signed *Lucius*, in the Public Ledger of this Day, which for imaginary Grievances, which really do not exist, is so foolish and atrocious as to recommend (what he evidently deserves himself) Decol-lation, respecting not only our present wise and good Ministers, but even our most valuable KING *himself*: An impudent and *violent Incendiary*! who in my Estimation ought, for the Good and Safety of the Public, to be brought to condign *Disgrace*; to be put in the Pillory and pelted
three

three Hours is the least he deserves, in order to preserve future Decency towards a wife and good Government.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
Aug. 16, 1773.

N.B. It is extremely probable, and I have some ground to conclude, the virulent Letter in Question has been dictated, if not wrote, by a revengeful, Out of Place, late arbitrary Minister, alias, Secretary of *State*, who wants to be in again: But I fervently hope, for the Public Weal, he never will; he and his Colleague may love Fighting too well for Times of Peace, but cannot bear to be controuled by *Reason*, and the true Love and Safety of *his Country*.

Idem,

A. P.

A Method proposed to make Bread Cheaper,

V I Z.

AS the high Price of Wheat and Bread after so very plentiful and fine Harvest cannot easily be accounted for, but from the Farmers being grown rich and covetous, and so with-holding it from Market, in order to keep up the Price, and by which Means, in similar Cases, it has often happened that through long keeping, for a higher Price, Vermin have devoured a great Part of what was intended,

tended, by a Gracious Providence, for the Use of Mankind : In Remedy whereof, 'twould be a wise Measure to enact, that in all Cases where any Wheat, either in Rick, or Barn, or Granary shall be kept longer than a certain Time to be fixt, (perhaps two Years after Reaping) in such Case the Justices of Peace of the Vicinage to be empowered and required to grant Warrants to enforce the Sale thereof at Public Market.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
Nov. 5, 1773.

A Receipt to Mediate the very dangerous Differences between the Mother Country and her numerous Colonies.

LET an Act of Parliament be passed to grant the constitutional Honour of being *really represented* in Parliament, to such Colonies, who by Petition signed by the Speakers of each Assembly on behalf of the Province, shall *request* such Favour of Government, and let it be also enacted, that in one Year after such Act becomes communicated to each Assembly by the Governors thereof, that every such Province shall be liable, after the first Year, to be *Taxed by Parliament* in common with the British Subjects residing in England, but not *apart*, nor otherwise than in the same Act, Mode and Proportion, as other British Subject are also taxed.

This

This is recommend as a safe and expeditious Cure to be applied by our *State Physicians*.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Nov. 8, 1773.*

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

S I R,

A Very sensible Pamphlet having been lately published on the Subject of "*Manning the Royal Navy with Volunteers,*" it is much to be desired that it may be duly read and observed by Ministers and others; but as to myself, I cannot but be of Opinion that it would tend to make the Plan more effectual and salutary upon the Whole, if a Register was established at the principal Port of every maritime County, and that the Magistrates of such Counties might be occasionally, on Necessity, impowered to impress, as it might conduce to enable each County to raise their several Quotas more expeditiously, but they should impress none but unmarried Men, or such married Men who have no Children under fourteen Years of Age; this would be both merciful to Mothers and Infants, and might also very happily become a Means of encouraging Marriages and Population in this too much exhausted Country.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Dec. 2, 1773.*

To

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

THE Commissioners of Pavements and Lamps having lately effectually new paved the Foot-way round the Edges of *Tower-Hill*, it is much to be regretted that they did not at the same Time, or soon after, pave the Whole of the said *Tower-Hill*. It has long been a very slovenly, dirty, infamous Place, scandalous to the *City* and to *Government*. If it is not decided whose Right, or Duty it is to do it, or be at the Expence thereof, whether the *Government*, or the *City*, it is now high Time for the Commissioners of *Tower-Ward* to procure that Matter ascertained, or by a proper Application to *Government*, or *Parliament*, to procure all reasonable Aid towards affecting a decent and reputable Reparation and Enlightening the same, so that it may no longer be unsafe for his Majesty's Subjects to pass over after Day-light is closed.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracchurch-Street,
Dec. 7, 1773.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

S I R,

THE very important Controversy between Great Britain and her numerous American British Colonies, respecting the *Mode* and *Manner* whereby they are to raise, or cooperate in raising, *Revenues*, for the reasonable proportionate Shares of the might Expence of their *Protection*, by the necessary

cessary Operations of the Fleet of Great Britain and other Measures of good Government, after many Years Dispute, is now apparently drawing towards a *Crisis*.

It is much to be desired for the Good, Peace and Safety of mutual Commerce, as well as the Welfare of Posterity on both Sides, that the most salutary Means may be at last happily adopted, which can conduce to the immortal Honour of our present Monarch, and his Administration.

The two grand Questions to be decided in Council, or in Parliament, are these,—“ Whether each of about thirty “ Assemblies are to be left to tax themselves, judging of “ the proportionate Sums each for themselves, without “ Stipulation by the British Legislature? (which they unwisely contend for;) or “ Whether they are to co-operate, “ by Representation in the British Parliament, in assessing “ themselves?”—The former would create endless and yearly Difficulties and Disputes, constantly endangering the Peace and Welfare, and perhaps ultimately Center in the Ruin of both Countries.

On the other Hand, say the Americans, “ a Representation in the British Parliament is unsafe to us, because “ of the apparent Danger of being overpowered by Numbers, and consequently liable to too partial and heavy “ Taxations.” It is therefore much to be wished, for the mutual Prosperity of the Whole on both Sides, that Government would graciously condescend to grant the Americans a salutary secure Barrier, in the Act granting Representation, to effectually, and for ever prevent them from being *separately* taxed by Parliament, or otherwise than in the same Act, in the same Mode, and in the same Proportion, wherein the British Subjects residing in Britain are also taxed. This would remove their Fears,
and

and thus might the Whole of the British and American British Subjects be very honourably, very safely, and very wisely represented, in one central Parliament at Westminster, which would clearly operate to the great Strength and Glory of the British Empire, and be attended with Abundance of real important, essential Advantages to Trade and Commerce.

The American Assemblies must nevertheless be continued to them for all their several internal *particular local Concerns*, each deputing from among themselves certain Members to represent them in the British Parliament, where all general Laws for the Navigation, Protection, general Defence, and Public Weal of the Whole, should be deliberated and decided. So may every Part be doing good to, and strengthening one another, and the good old Motto be verified—
“ Amicitium Irae, amoris redintegratio est.”

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
 Feb. 5, 1774.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

*“ Wisdom is better than Weapons of War, but one Sinner
 “ destroyeth much Good.” Eccles. iv. 18.*

AT this very critical Conjunction, when an apparent Danger of a Civil War between British Subjects of these, and British American Dominions, it may be of some

some use to look back to the unhappy inlet to the present dangerous Dispute, respecting the Mode, or Manner of the Americans being liable by the Constitution to furnish Supplies by Taxation, towards the vast Expence of Protection and Defence, whereby they have been in the late two Wars effectually made secure from their Indian, French, and European Enemies, in such a Manner as to demand their great Gratitude to their Protectors and Preservers; and which noble Principle would probably have appeared conspicuous to this Day, had not the unexperienced and unconstitutional Ministry, in the Years 1764. 1765, &c. unhappily fell on a Mode of taxing them *separately*, without their Assemblies Co-operation, or Consent.

If at the Time the Stamp-Act was passed, a constitutional Right of Representation had been granted them, on Condition of their, or any of their Assemblies, petitioning for the same; it would have been complied with, although not so cordially as if a Tax in common with the British Subject, residing in Britain, had been laid, because in the former Case they would have been jealous of future heavier Taxations apart, and perhaps to an Extent more than they could well bear, and which they would be always liable to, by being greatly out numbered in Parliament; so should they have been taxed only in common with ourselves, or in the same Mode, Size, and Proportion, and in the same Act by which the British Subject residing here is taxed also, *e. g.* If in lieu of the present absurd, unequitable, disproportionate Tax, called the Land-Tax, it had been reduced to One Shilling in the Pound, to be given and granted, not by Individuals, at their voluntary Option, as in the Reign of William and Mary, but by the Representatives of the People in Parliament, and honestly and equitably assessed in just Proportions, and so extended thro' all Eng-

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land,

land, &c. Ireland, and America, so that every Subject, having an Estate of 20l. a Year, to pay Twenty Shillings, whether in England, Ireland, or America, such a Regulation would have been attended with a very happy and peaceful *Security*, not only to Trade and Commerce, but to the permanent Strength and Welfare of these British, Irish, and British American Nations, and would have happily proved a Barrier against that dangerous Advantage which the European Enemies of this Country may look out for, and expect to reap, from our Divisions: “ *A House divided against itself cannot stand; and a Kingdom divided against itself is brought to Desolation.* Matt. viii. 25. If in lieu of Repealing the Stamp-Act, a much wiser Act had been passed, to grant them the Honour of Representation, on proper Petition, with a municipal Clause, to prevent future separate Taxations, all would have been well then, and so have continued now, and so would the wise King’s Doctrine have been very happily verified, “ *Wisdom is better than Weapons of War.*”

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
Feb. 8, 1774.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

I Find many who have perused my late Dissertations on constitutional Terms of Reconciliation between Great Britain and her North American Colonies, seem to think it difficult to reduce to Practice, I remind all such to consider the Reign of Henry the VIIIth, and Oliver Cromwell’s Govern-

Government, in the former Calais (in France) was represented in the English Parliament, and in the latter, Ireland was also so represented, the latter then sending *thirty Members*; the Policy of those Government in granting such Honours, was apparently, in order to constitutionally draw Supplies from them, towards Protection and Defence, well-knowing it the most effectual, most safe, most honourable, as well as most profitable Way of taxing them; they co-perating therein, and so making it an Act of their own, without which a Tax on them even by Parliament would be *arbitrary*; inasmuch that, whereas Subjects are arbitrarily taxed by one *King*, in despotic Kingdoms; they, the Americans, would be under a Multitude of arbitrary Tax-matters in Company, amounting to much the same in Effect, by taxing them separately; therefore is the Language of the Constitution of the British Government, NO RIGHT OF REPRESENTATION GRANTED, NO TAXATION BY PARLIAMENT.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
Feb. 16, 1774.

P. S. The Author hath been well informed that the Government of the Massachusett's Bay is composed of upwards 120 Townships, who have each of them a constitutional Right granted them of sending a Member, or Members to the General Assembly at Boston, but more than twenty of the most remote of them, decline sending Representatives on Account of the Distance and Expence, (the Allowance from the Town to their Representatives being each 4 s. per Diem) nevertheless as they have a Right of Representation

mentation granted them ; they pay Taxes in common with those who send Representatives ; this is apprehended to be an excellent Constitutional Specimen.

Idem,

A. P.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

THE Letter signed *Rationalis* of this Day affording a plausible, tho' superficial Pretext to shallow Politicians, to spirit up the misguided Americans, and their misguided, pretended *Friends*, but mistaken real Enemies, to mislead others into a vague Notion of a Multitude of Sovereign Powers (in lieu of one) in the British Dominions ; which they would have consist of two Parliaments, and about thirty different Assemblies, each to have a Sovereign Right to tax themselves, exclusive of the real Sovereign Right of the real Sovereign Power of Great Britain, &c. which is now, and for Ages has been, properly composed of, King, Lords, and the Representatives of the Commons in Parliament assembled.

The vague and dangerous Innovation, which these mistaken, imaginary Patriots want to introduce, would (if unhappily put to the Trial) manifestly prove a dreadful Means, not of Union and Peace, but of Discontent, Quarrels and Separation, *e. g.* suppose for Instance, Great Britain at any Time finding it necessary to immediately equip a Fleet, &c. at the Expence of many Hundred Thousand Pounds, or in Consequence, *Millions*, to protect America from Enemies, what has been and may be again ; now these shallow Politicians

ticians, such as *Rationalis* (but I think the syllable *It* should have preceded) would have the proper *executive Power*, wisely lodged by this happy Constitution in King and Council, immediately engage in such necessary very expensive Measures, and then afterwards the King separately to have the arduous Task imposed on him, of procuring a Majority in one other Parliament, and in each of about thirty different Assemblies, to grant each of them some Part towards such might Expence to be incurred by Protection of such thirty Provinces, or Colonies. An irrational, absurd, ingrateful Proposition, to come from either the American, or mistaken Well-wishers to America: No—it is very manifest to the Impartial, that there is a Necessity of a more just and close Connection between the legislative and executive Powers of Government, so as to act more in concert than would be possible, in Case of *Rationalis's* absurd Plan was adopted; so will it be abundantly more wise, more safe, and more just, that each American Province should be honoured with constitutional and necessary Right of Co-operation in one central Parliament, very properly and justly representing the Whole of those British, Irish, and American Nations, so drawing together, and consulting, and promoting the mutual Good of each other, which would strongly tend to raise the Strength, Power, and Glory of the Whole, and so may our most gracious King's Reign and Administration become the Beauty and Glory of Nations.

So wisheth and so prayeth,

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
Mar. 19, 1774.

To the Printer of the Public Ledger.

S I R,

IN every wise Government a supreme legislative and executive Power is manifestly, absolutely needful, to the Safety and well-being of every Nation. In some Governments this supreme Power is lodged in one Person in Council, at his Pleasure; such is justly called an arbitrary Government; in others, such supreme Power, in both legislative and executive Capacity, is lodged in the People only at large, by Representation; this is called a Democracy, or by some a Commonwealth; in others it is lodged in the Nobles, called an Aristocracy; but in our *happy Constitution*, these supreme Powers of Legislation and the executive Protection and Defence, are wisely lodged in King, Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, and would be nugatory and impracticable without being accompanied with the united Powers of Taxation, on the Whole, to support their own Determinations and Measures, needful for their Safety and well-being.

If any Part of such Dominions claim, or have the Benefit of, such Protection and Defence, and at the same Time do claim Exemption from Taxation from such supreme Power, towards raising the absolutely necessary Supplies, unavoidably attending such Protection and Defence, it must, to the Candid and Impartial, appear a violent Solecism in Politics, not to be accounted for, but from a covetous, selfish, disloyal Principle.—*Ergo*, the American Parts of these Dominions are inexcusable in demanding such unjust,

just, absurd, unreasonable Exemption; and there is an absolute Necessity, for the Safety of the Whole, that the same united Sovereign Power, who protects and defends the Whole, should also tax the Whole: The legislative and executive Powers must be united, else Confusion would inevitably ensue; therefore the American Claim, of every one of their Assemblies being left at Liberty (exclusive of the real supreme Right) to confine Taxation towards Protection and Defence to their own Act and Judgment, relative to the *Mode* and *Proportion*, is repugnant to Reason, Justice, or common Sense, and is also repugnant to the Experience, or Practice of every Nation under the Sun.—What then must be the Case, to constitute a constitutional *Legislation*, *Protection*, and *Taxation*, in Regard of Great Britain and America? The Solution is manifest: Not that the Americans should selfishly make an Excuse of not paying towards their own, or the common Protection of the Whole, by equitable joint Taxation, in common with the Whole; but that they should either Petition for a Right of Representation, and request that, for their Safety, they may not be liable to separate Taxations, or to be only taxed in common with the British, residing in Britain. This would be wise and just, and, I would willingly hope, effectual; but till that has been assayed, and *denied* them, (*which*, I hope and believe, will not be the Case,) I will maintain, no Part of the British, or British American Dominions have any constitutional Right to be exempt from being taxed in common with the rest, (in Cases which will, with Propriety, admit such common Mode, and which will be quite sufficient for their Quota) by the *supreme Sovereign Power*, in *Parliament assembled*. So we should hear no more of America being constitutionally exempt from Taxation by such Sovereign Power, (*i. e.* King, Lords, and Commons, in *Parliament assembled*;) because, of their own Choice, of *not being represented*,

represented, but rather should all join in pleading for a constitutional *Right of Representation* being granted them, by the same Sovereign Power who Taxes, and by that Means protects and defends them from all Enemies, whether European, or American.

We know they (or some of them not willing to be without excuse from Parliamentary Taxation) plead Representation impractical, but let us consider, that a Voyage from America hath been very often performed in twenty Days, and at less Expence than a Journey from Scotland by Land in a Coach would cost; so would their mighty Mountain of Objection, which has avarice for a Foundation, dwindle to a Mole-hill; and it may be found, not only very practicable, but very honourable and secure, so pleading for their own reasonable Interest in Parliament, by their own proper Members, in lieu of out-door Agents, who prove ineffectual: But if the Colonies should be so deaf to Honour, and their own reasonable Interest, as to decline *Representation*, it is unjust and unpardonable under such Circumstances to plead Exemption from Taxation by Parliament; all they can with Honour and Allegiance in such Case desire, or expect, is to be excused from partial, separate Taxations by Parliament, wherein the British Subject residing in Britain is not in equal Proportion included, or taxed also.

T. C.

Gracechurch-Street,
April 7, 1774.

For

For the PUBLIC LEDGER:

To MEANWELL,

SIR,

IN answer to a Letter under this Signature, in one of the Morning Papers of this Day, suffer me also, *Meaning-well, to think much better.*

The celebrated Pope says, “ There needs but thinking Right, and Meaning-well.” The latter is, in personal Cases, a very justifiable Plea ; but before any Gentlemen meddles with Politics on important Subjects, at this critical Time, it is but a Duty he owes to the Public Weal, to be honestly studious and careful, by diligent and candid Consideration of Cases and Consequences, to think well, or wisely, before he obtrudes on the Public, Opinions, injurious to the State and to the public Safety.

Meanwell supposes the supreme Sovereign Power of this Nation, hath “ *not* a Right to tax the American Subjects, “ towards defraying the great Expence of the Fleet, &c. “ of Great Britain, when devoted to the Protection of America,” which appears an Absurdity, the Reverse of the Practice of every supreme Sovereign Power on Earth, as also of common Justice and common Reason. *Meanwell's* Errors appears to have arisen from omitting the Words, “ not without their being granted a Right of Representation in the Parliament,” which, being the supreme Sovereign Power, must of Necessity tax the Whole of the Subjects, or else, those exempted would have no Sovereign Power at all over them ; which I conclude *Mean-*

well did not mean to infer, nor can it be supposed with common Sense: Government have erred only in taxing them without granting that indisputable, constitutional Right of British Subjects, their being *represented*. Their Distance is of their own Choice, and it cannot, with common Sense, be supposed, that by Emigrations the Sovereign Power should loose Subjects; and Subjects to be protected and defended without being taxed towards defraying the Expence of Protection, are to Government worse than no Subjects at all. Can *Meanwell* suppose, that the many Thousands who, paying Taxes here, choose to emigrate to America every Year, ought in Reason, Equity, or common Sense, to be exempt from Taxation (by the same Sovereign Power) on Landing on the American Shores? At that Rate the Time might not be very distant when the larger Numbers (in America) would be to be protected by the smaller Number (in Great Britain) without the larger Numbers paying any Thing towards it, but what they should afterwards be pleased to give, or let alone, which they should choose, or like best. An Absurdity inconsistent with Justice, Prudence, or common Sense.

THINK WELL;

April 16, 1774.

To the Printer of the Morning Chronicle.

S I R,

SEMPRONIUS, in a Morning Paper of this Day, having, from an apparent Deficiency of Duty and Allegiance to the Sovereign Powers of these Dominions, denied the *Right* of the Sovereign Power, as composed of
King,

King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to tax their American Subjects, even towards the Expence of protecting and defending them, *because not represented*, and without Regard to his Duty as a Subject, and without Regard to Decency, Equity, or common Honesty, having publicly deemed it a *Robbery*: As he appears over-heated, through the impetuous Passion of Covetousness, Selfishness, Thirst of Independence, and Aversion to *Government*, I am willing to impute a Part of it to a real Error of Judgment, impressed on him through the Prejudice of Education, among People long actuated by the above very dangerous Principles, rather than to impute it wholly to Malevolence; and, in Consequence, am willing to afford him and his Countrymen some salutary Eye-salve to purge the visual Ray from Mists and Darkeness, so that they may perceive their Mistake, and retrieve their past Errors, which in great Measure have arose from their really mistaking the Case, in regard of *constitutional Right*.

He asserts, No Representation, no Taxation; at that Rate, what Part of the King's Dominions would not decline the Right of Representation, if it would save them from all Taxation by the Sovereign Power? their Language apparently implies, we will not be taxed, because not represented; nor will we be represented, lest we should be taxed; or in other Words, we will not be taxed at all, but by ourselves; and every one judging of our Proportion for ourselves, independent of the Power of King, Lords, and Commons of Great Britain, who protect and defend us by their Fleet, &c. from all our Enemies. I would earnestly recommend them to vary their Tone, so as to adjust it to their real constitutional Right; that is of requiring a Right of Representation, because the Parliament have taxed them; which would be quite constitutional, and consonant to the Practice of former Ages, respecting Ireland, Calais, the Coun-

ties Palatine, &c. and if by suitable Petition the Colonies could procure of the supreme Government, a kind municipal Clause of Exemption from the Americans being separately taxed towards Revenue, in order to prevent too heavy, or too partial Taxations in future, it is all they can with Reason expect, or ought to desire; and I would willingly hope on proper Conduct, such Favour might be granted; thus would the Americans have Reason to rejoice and bless themselves, in being under so mild and gracious Government, and so effectually and reasonably protected and defended; so might Discord cease, and mutual good Offices succeed, and the good old Saying experienced, “The falling-out of Lovers is the Renewal of Love.”

ANALYSIS.

May 5, 1774.

May it please your Lordships,

HAVING offended many Americans by my Publications, by which my mercantile Interest hath been much affected, am induced, from a Regard to my reasonable Interest, to use different Signatures, to them unknown; thus was mine of 26th of April, signed *Thinkwell* in the Public Ledger of 2d May, and the inclosed, *Analysis*.

Pardon my Presumption, while with Confidence I assert, from the Knowledge contracted in the Course of forty Years Experience, the Americans will never peaceably submit to partial separate Taxations by Parliament, towards raising a Revenue, (without Limitation) and as it is a Concern of
vast

vast Magnitude to preserve the *Dignity of Government*, and at same Time the Peace and Security of America, I have from an innate Principle improved, long laboured, both with my Pen and my Tongue, to convey useful Sentiments, conducive to such beneficent and noble Acts, as are apparently absolutely needful, for the mutual *Security and Peace* of both Great Britain and America. On this Ground permit me to express my ardent Wishes for a Bill to be brought in, to exempt the Colonies from such *separate, future Taxations*, which will quiet their Minds, and afterwards they will be glad to be honour'd with a few Members of their own in the House, in lieu of Out-door Agents.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

Gracechurch-Street,
May 7, 1774.

To the Printer of the Morning Chronicle.

A Lucky Thought just coming into my Head, I cannot forbear communicating to you as a Native of a certain loyal County.—If the Americans could avail themselves of not being *represented* in the *British Parliament*, so far as to get rid of all Taxation by Parliament, as 'twill be a very great saving of Expences to the Unrepresented. “If *our County*, and its Cities and Boroughs, wisely take the Hint at the next general Election, 'tis only declining to chuse any Members, and our County will not then be actually Represented any more than the Americans—and what a charming saving Scheme 'twill be! I hope indeed we shall not be imitated by the rest of the Counties, because by
such

such a saving Policy prevailing, we might in Success of Time have no Parliament at all, and then our King, in Council, would be absolute. This I confess might become a dangerous Affair, under a worse King, and so on the Whole, let us candidly give, and take Advice, and consider Consequences in Time.

OWN DEAR SELF.

May 14, 1774.

To the Printer of the Morning Chronicle.

S I R,

IN this Nation of Liberty and Licentiousness, there is generally a strong Contest between those who are *out*, wanting to be *in*; and those who are *in* Possession of the King's Favours; we find it, on Experience, that the Faction, on every Appearance of Disappointment, are *outrageous*, and, like a vociferous drowning Person, laying hold on every *Twig*, though ever so slender, in the vain Hopes of Recovery from Defeat; we may, on this Occasion, recollect what a *Twig* the Faction made last Year of the Act to regulate the Coinage, which the rational Part of the Subjects of our benevolent Monarch, immediately perceived to be a wise and salutary Measure; but these short-sighted, disgusted Politicians, being, through the Prevalence of Ambition, or other Vice, somewhat blinded in their Understandings, imagined, or pretended to imagine it, a cruel and oppressive Act: The Consequence hath amply proved that the rational Subject judged aright, in perceiving

perceiving it a very salutary and proper Measure of good Government. And the Faction have been duly silenced on that Head, though it hath not appeared to me that they have been honest and grateful enough to a good King to acknowledge it. The chief Outcry this Year (from the same accumulated Faction, drawing Strength from the disappointed furious Men of Boston) is concerning the Act for modelling the Government of Quebec and Province of Canada, on a Basis which very evidently appears (to the rational Subject) a wise Measure, well becoming a rational and benevolent King, meaning to be so generally to all his Subjects, without unjustifiable Partiality. On this Ground it appears to the Candid, that in Regard of Justice and Benevolence, the King's new Canadian Subjects being about 150,000, require his Good-will and Protection, in common with other Subjects, and especially to fulfil Engagements, on which they surrendered, in being allowed to enjoy their Religion and consequent Liberty of Conscience, the latter being so inherently a benevolent Part of the British Constitution, and the Restrictions here found necessary against the Romish Tenets, are not with Propriety applicable there, they being there the native national Prejudices, which it would be absurd to expect the King either to root out, or to persecute for; the Government, both in military and criminal Cases, being and remaining on the old British System, it will probably be found on Probation, that civil Cases being in that Province determined by a Council of 17 to 23 of impartial Persons skilled in Laws, in lieu of the Trial by Jury, may there, though not here, be best adapted to make the Subjects in general more happy there, and the Province more flourishing, than if Trial by Jury had been crammed down the Throats of 150,000 Inhabitants, contrary to their antient Usage and liking, in order to please about 500 new Settlers, being a Proportion of about one single Person

son to three hundred; certainly so very great a Majority deserve some Preference, so will the candid Judge, and so will “ Wisdom be justified of her Children,” and so will the Act which now makes such a Clamour, be found on Experience to be a very wise political benevolent Act, well becoming our gracious benevolent Monarch.

These are from one, who, from a Principle of doing Good, in pacifying the Missed and Mistaken, hath been induced to take up his Pen, so making use of Half an Hour for the real Promotion of the true *national Interest*, and *Concord therein*.

A Rational Subject,

THOMAS CROWLEY,

Gracechurch-Street,

June 27, 1774.

P. S. The Reader will do well to recollect and consider, that the Act in Question very justly provides for the Exercise of the Protestant Religion and the Maintenance of its Ministers in Canada.

Idem,

T. C.

On the General Naturalization, &c.

UPON frequent and mature Consideration it appears to me, that by Means of the Emigration of young People from this Country to America, and of Sailors, Soldiers,

Soldiers, Shipwrights and Manufacturers being tempted away, the poor working, labouring, and manufacturing People, who are truly *the Source of our Riches and Strength*, are become so reduced in Numbers by the foregoing and other Causes, that it appears a Matter of no small Magnitude for the State to think of necessary Means to prevent (by wise Restrictions) such like further Emigrations, and also to encourage Population, by all-wise Methods, among which to encourage Marriages, and discourage Celibacy, is by no Means the least ; this having long appeared to me a very necessary Measure both in respect of Increase and of Happiness. Prostitute Females are known to bear very few Children, to abuse, or do no Good, but great Evil to themselves, and to a great Multitude of Mankind, both in respect of their Bodies and Souls ; and loose single Men are a Disgrace to themselves and to their Country, and in respect of the very apparent Will of all-wise Providence, are Enemies to their Country, and to the Honest of the Fair Sex, by refusing, or declining, or neglecting (by not joining in Wedlock) to rear up Families for the Public Good, and their own Happiness, by Participation thereof, and thereby transmitting a Transcript of themselves to Futurity. However cold the Debauchee, or the Voluptuous may look on these Sentiments, those who know their Duty, and happily perform the same, feel a Satisfaction in not only enjoying, but communicating Happiness to Posterity, agreeable to the Laws of Society, in the best Sense ; which true Satisfaction and benevolent Bliss far exceeds all the Grati- fications of Sense, or the Possession of all the Riches in the World ; so would I have all consult and pursue the true Object of their own permanent Felicity, which will be found by all who are not deficient in their Duty, to be a true Source of Bliss both here and hereafter.

Another Means of encouraging Population might be pursued to great Advantage, (undiscerning Prejudice first removed) to pass a general Naturalization Bill, subject to such Exceptions, as to make it accord with the Good and Happiness and Peace of the Public; and certainly it would be of great national Service, if instead of suffering Manufacturers to emigrate from hence, an Act was to be passed to encourage all useful and laborious, manufacturing and working People, to come and settle amongst us, as well as the Rich with their Fortunes; and all, except Paupers, unable, or unwilling to work, of which we have too many already of our own without Importation: Some Guard should therefore be adapted to prevent useless People getting here under Shelter of such Act, to be a Charge without Profit. And if the unmerchandise Prejudices of the common People did not militate against it, it would be a great national Benefit to permit Jews as well as others of Fortune, and such as demonstrate their Utility, some Checks for which might be devised; as also to prevent Parishes suffering by necessitous Poor creeping in upon them, under Cover of such Act. Some Difficulties will attend all grand national Measures, which the Weak are too apt to raise from Mole-hills to Mountains, but the true Character of the able Politician is rather to level the Mountains, and reduce them to plain Ground, easy of Access. Those who stumble at small Difficulties which fall in the Way, and so suffer them to obstruct great Points of public Benefit from being carried into Execution, instead of pursuing with un-deviating Wisdom and Resolution until the End is happily obtained, are but shallow Ministers, and not well adapted to the Public Weal.

Let us therefore, my Countrymen, the Inhabitants of this once happy Island, as with one Voice join in our humble

ble and frequent Prayer to the Majesty of Heaven, that he may inspire the Heart of the King with Wisdom, in the Choice of his Ministers, that their Councils may be wise and good, and that the just and necessary Administration of Rewards and Punishments, wisely calculated for the sole Purpose of the Peoples Good, and the Safety of the State, arising there from, may be pursued with an honest and steady Resolution. So may the Good of the Whole in future be found to rise out of Evil, by making a wise and proper Use of every Event.

AMOR PATRIÆ.

*Gracechurch-Street,
Feb. 24.*

A Dissertation on Disputes between Great Britain and her Colonies.

THE Dispute with the Americans is now become, as was long ago foreseen, a Matter of very great Importance—As a great Number of ill-informed, weak judging People have been very unhappily MISLED, partly by the disgusted Out of Place-politicians, and partly through the Influence of their own present short-sighted, self-interested Views; and looking too full on that Side the Question, seem to have overlooked, or forgotten, that it is the Duty of every Member of the Government, honestly to aim at being impartial (regarding the Good of the Whole) in their Conduct, Speeches, and Writings, on a Matter of such Magnitude, as consequently involves the Whole of both

Great Britain and America, in very imminent Danger of dreadful Scenes,

It is Self-evident to the Intelligent, that there must necessarily be in every Country a *supreme* Legislative and executive Power, to which Subjects, ought in Reason, Duty, and good Conscience to submit. This *supreme Power*, in the British Dominions, is, and hath been for Ages, in King, Lords, and Representatives of the Commons, in Parliament assembled; and it evidently appears, that if any of the King of Great Britain's Subjects (live where they will) are not subject to such supreme Sovereign Power, they can have no other, as British Subjects, and would, if exempt from her Laws, have no supreme Sovereign Power at all over them on Earth.

If any Part of the Empire is aggrieved, they have a Right to petition for Relief, but in no Case whatever have they a Right to rebel against the solemn Acts of the only supreme Sovereign Power over the British, Irish, and British American Dominions—The Americans alledge that they have been unconstitutional taxed; be it so; but mutual Justice ought to be the ruling Motive with Government in all Cases, and has every Subject of Property on Earth, ought in Justice, proportionate to his Abilities, to contribute legally his reasonable Quota towards the Expence incurred, in using the necessary Means of protecting and defending their Persons and Estates, it may be justly considered it would be partial and unjust to confine the Expence to one Part only, for protecting and defending the WHOLE: And if, the present, or late State of America, would not admit of being so taxed by the said supreme Power in Parliament, assembled, without deviating from the acknowledged general Principle of Representation and Taxation going together,

gether they should have duly considered, that Protection and Taxation ought likewise most certainly to go together ; and any Government without, would be extremely absurd, inconsistent, and liable to Dissolution.

Should not therefore the Americans, instead of selfishly and vainly contending for Exemption from the latter, say Taxation, have properly petitioned for the former, say Representation, under proper Limitations to prevent in future any dangerous separate Taxations, and that they might be taxed only in the same Act and Mode, and only in suitable Proportion, comparing Circumstances and Abilities with those of Great Britain ; or otherwise, to be allowed to propose to the supreme Power in Parliament, assembled, some proportionate adequate Sums mutually agreed on by the Provinces, or Congress in America, for and as, the annual legal (or to be made legal) Proportion, to be furnished by each Province, severally to be raised by their own separate Assemblies, and to rise and fall in some fixed Proportion ; or, as does the Land-Tax in Great Britain, in Regard to Occasions, in War, and in Peace. If the Continental Congress when met, (though illegal) had concerted something of this Kind, and had also concerted how they should do Justice to the East-India Company, to compensate the Loss sustained by the violent, illegal, unexampled Conduct of the Bostonians, then might they have had some Claim to the further benevolent Regard of Government, or of the supreme Sovereign Power, as also to Justification among their Fellow Subjects on this Side : But while their Language and Conduct plainly import, that they will not be taxed because not represented, nor will be represented lest they should be taxed, or have no excuse for Exemption, Justice seems to point out how necessary it is, in order to investigate

investigate the Merits and Demerits of the Case, to look back and consider the Occasions, and the Expences of the two last Wars; that of 1739 is well-known to have been occasioned by protecting the Americans at their own Request, from the Depredations (as then termed) of the Spanish Guardacoastas detecting, or pretending to detect their Vessels in an illicit Trade, on or near the Coasts of the Spanish American Dominions: This War continued until the Year 1748, Spain being joined by France about the four last Years thereof.

The last War, which took rise from protecting the Americans at their Request also from the Hostilities of the French and Indians in the Back Settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania, in the Years 1754 and 1755, which being consequently attended with further Hostilities, produced a Declaration in 1756, this War continued until near the End of 1762, Spain joining France the last Year thereof. Now in order to form an impartial Judgment of the Demerits of the contending Parties, it will be necessary to consider, that the two Wars so incurred by protecting the Americans, cost this Nation more than One Hundred Millions of Money, the Interest whereof amounting to between Three and Four Millions annually; and also may it be needful to consider, whether the Americans purchasing of the Merchants of Great Britain, Merchandize which they annually want, or stand in need of, to about the same annual Amount, gross Value (and the Profits only a very small Proportion thereof) as the Interest of Money so borrowed, and applied by the supreme Government, benevolently and graciously raised for such Purpose by Loans from the Public, should, or should not, be deemed an adequate Reason why they should be exempt from constant annual Taxes, or stipulated Sums, or Quotas to Government, towards

wards paying the enormous annual Expence, for the Interest of Money, which said supreme Government have so benevolently and graciously borrowed and applied, and whereby they, the Americans, were very successfully delivered from their Enemies both Indian and European? And whether their Duty and Gratitude, should not have made them heartily willing to furnish their several Quotas, during the thirteen Years Peace since, towards paying such Interest and other Exigencies of State, in lieu of objecting to every Mode calculated by Government, to administer Justice on that Head; and proposing nothing rational themselves in lieu? Their Proposition of reverting back to the absurd Custom before 1762, adapted to their infant States, and weakly continued too long; of only furnishing a small Share towards their own Military, for their own Defence, in Time of War only, on ministerial requisitory Letters, is very manifestly to the impartial, discerning Observer, extremely unreasonable. What King, or Minister on Earth, would undertake to procure a Majority in each of about thirty wrangling Assemblies, annually and every Year to grant and furnish each, a due Proportion towards the general Expences, attending Protection and Defence, or Exigencies of State? It certainly would be an extreme, irksome, or impracticable Task, and by no Means fit to be proposed by well-meaning Subjects. Should not the Americans, on the other Side of the Question, prudently and impartially consider? that the Settlers in America were originally mostly Subjects here before Emigration, and paid Taxes, and were clothed here, so contributing their Proportion towards the Support of both the Government and Manufacturer, and that they generally going over in a State of either Penury, or Mediocrity, have become wealthy, opulent, and powerful, by Means

of

of the generous, benevolent, and extensive Credit, they have constantly obtained and enjoyed, from the Merchants of Great Britain; and without which they could not have acquired one Half of their present Wealth, Power, or Importance: Nor without the generous Protection of the British Government, could they probably have existed as British Colonies? And further let it be considered, that the united Congress, have both put a Negative on Representation, by declaring it impracticable (though the contrary is very manifest), and have also put a Negative on the benevolent gracious Proposals of Government last Sessions of Parliament, viz. that each Colony might be excused from Taxation by Parliament, for the Purpose of Revenue, or to that Effect, in Case of each Colony furnishing a reasonable Proportion annually, to be raised by each Assembly in their own Way, and to be applied by Parliament to the Exigences of State, (or to that Effect.) This ungrateful Refusal of the uniting Colonies, very evidently leaves them without any just Excuse, and very much tends to justify the necessary Measures of Government, in endeavouring to reduce them to their Duty and Allegiance, to this, the best Form of *supreme Government, or Sovereign Power, on this terraqueous Globe.*

If the uniting Colonies would wisely take up these Considerations, and properly make some rational Proposals by Way of Petition to Government, all might yet End well, and a terrible Effusion of Blood be prevent; but if they obstinately go on in Rebellion, and do not make any such like Proposals, or some adequate, it will be very manifest, they are governed, or actuated by their own selfish Passions, Covetousness, and the Love of Power and Dominion, (and not by the true Love of their Country,) and

whoever

whoever abets, or encourageth them therein, or in striving for Independence, will be consequently AN UTTER ENEMY TO BOTH COUNTRIES.

ANALYSIS A. P.

October 10, 1775.

A Copy of a Letter to His MAJESTY.

May it please your Royal Majesty,

CONSCIOUS of the best of Motives I am embolden'd to humbly represent my *dutiful Sentiments, of Loyalty* to the *best of Kings*, and of the *genuine free Love of my Country* :

From a two-fold Impulse of this Kind I do humbly presume, as an old experienced late American Merchant, (in a particular Branch thereof) but who hath left off Trade, entirely in favour of his eldest Son, to humbly represent to your Majesty, that the *Americans* being, from a Jealousy of Temper, arising from their prevalent Passions, generally led to imagine themselves under an arbitrary Power, so long as the *Declaratory Law*, established by Parliament, Anno. 1766, *remains in full Force*, subjecting (as they conceive) their *all* to the Will of the Parliament of Great Britain, unconstitutionally, without their *Co-operation*, or *previous Consent* ; which latter, say *Co-operation*, or *previous Consent*, is most certainly the peculiar specific Privilege, or Immunity of an Englishman, as such. so enjoying a satisfactory Benefit, peculiarly esteem'd as a very valuable

Munition in this Land of *Constitutional Liberty*: So are the Americans generally speaking of the Judgment, that while said Declaratory Act doth remain unamended, asserting and enacting a Right (if equitable, yet not coinciding with the constitutional Privilege aforesaid) to *Tax America* in *all Cases* without any *Limitation*; they shall, in every Case of *separate Taxation* for Purpose of Revenue without their Cooperation, or Consent, be (as the Act now stands) as much under an *arbitrary Power*, in respect of Taxation, as are the Subjects of any despotic Prince whatever, and therefore will they *not* submit. And although it may appear evident to the candid Considerer, that in Case of their submitting thereto, it would *not* be dangerous to them in the present merciful Reign; it might yet nevertheless in all Probability become a really extremely dangerous Precedent to them, or their Posterity, under some succeeding Kings and Parliaments.

I am therefore on this Ground let to believe, and to dutifully represent to your Majesty's serious Consideration, That if a Bill was to be ordered in to *explain* and *amend* said *Declaratory Law*, so as to limit its Operation in the American Colonies, in Case of their returning to their Duty and Allegiance, (retaining the full Right of constitutional Taxation) it might probably become as an Olive Branch of Peace in one Hand, accompanying the *Sword* in the other: (not to be bore in vain)

A wise military Plenipotentiary thus arm'd, and clothed with *constitutional Authority*, going over at the Head of *twenty thousand subordinate Plenipotentiaries*, might probably prove the *happy Means*, leading to a very happy *constitutional Reconciliation*! especially would it be *probable*, if
such

such explanatory Act should contain a wise Plan of limited Taxation, more effectually and more beneficially, and more safely, conducing to both Britain and America's Peace, Safety and Welfare ; and so withal enacting, that in Case of the Americans delivering in a fair Account of their Estates, and voluntarily subjecting themselves to Taxation for Purpose of Revenue in common with the British Subjects, residing in Britain ; the Colonies should not, in such Case, be thereafter liable to any separate Taxation for the Purpose of Revenue, but only in the same Act and Mode, and in just equitable Proportion with the British Subject, residing in Britain. All which might very easily, very safely to both Parties, and very happily, be put in Practice, so as in all Probability to *heal the Breach*, by removing the Cause.—I crave your Majesty's Clemency, and am

Your Majesty's loyal private Subject,

THOMAS CROWLEY.

Ozeler 31, 1775.

P. S. I compute that such a Land Tax of One Shilling in the Pound would produce a Revenue of at least One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds each Year, which is about twice as much as the Stamp-Act of 1765 would have produced, if it had been carried into Execution, and withal would this now proposed be abundantly more Satisfactory, since this Mode, in common with the British, residing in Britain, would entirely remove their Dread, which arises from any separate Taxation by Parliament, without their previous Consent, although to a much smaller Amount.

And after they shall have accordingly return'd to their Duty and Allegiance, and chearfully submitted to this Kind of united Land-Tax, then if they should afterwards (behaving well) Petition for Representation by their own deputed Members, agreeable to my Plan of 1770, I am of the Judgment 'twould be wise and conciliating, and of an uniting and cementing Virtue, holding and combining the Whole in one firm System, which would be a great reciprocal Benefit to the Whole.

Idem,

T. C.

N. B. Letter ANALYSIS A. P. inclosed.

To the Commissioners of Sewers and Pavements.

THE late and present very dangerous and disagreeable Condition of the Streets of London, being a great real Nuisance, hath caused my animadverting on suitable Means of Prevention in future, and in Consequence I have to propose to your Consideration, that it might be a happy and effectual Means, to insert in every Contract with the Scavenger of each Ward, separately, that in Case of a Frost, with Snow, making a Stoppage of the free Course of Water down the Channels, and continuing three Days, or if without Snow, continuing five, or seven Days; in every such Case, the Scavenger, on being paid extraordinary Allowance by the Day, or by the Load, or by the Ton, as may be agreed on, should be under sufficient Obligation

tion to keep the Channels and Streets, all clear and passable with Convenience, Ease and Safety.

A Lover of Reformation,

THOMAS CROWLEY.

Walworth, Feb. 3, 1776.

To the Commissioners of Sewers and Pavements.

A Friend of a certain Society, which 'tis unnecessary to mention, having suggested a pleasing Method of preventing the new regulated, and very advantageous Pavements of London, Westminster and Southwark, from being so often torn up, and laid down worse, by the Servants of the two principal Water Companies.

I am thence, and from considering the aimiable Consequences which may ensue, led to lay before *you*, and the Public, That if *Iron Pipes*, which, from *Ore* dug out of Earth, and cost nothing but Labour, *naturally considered*, were to be substituted instead of *wooden Ones*; the Elm might serve for other very necessary Purposes, in Building, and make Timber cheaper; and the Iron Pipes, being once laid down, would remain safe and sound for an Age, without tearing up the Pavement for the Purpose of mending, or laying down new Pipes; so might the Pavement be kept neat and decent, and withal at much less Expence, after the first laying them down; and would also be attended with another national Benefit, as 'twould be a Means of saving (after the first laying down) a Multitude of working
poor

poor People for the Purpose of Agriculture and Manufactures, who now are employed continually in tearing up the Pavements, mending the wooden Pipes, and laying down new Ones; and would also much conduce to the *Honour* and *Convenience* of the Metropolis of Great Britain, and the Inhabitants and Visitors thereof.

A Lover of Reformation,

THOMAS CROWLEY.

Wakworth 5th Feb. 1776.

P. S. I believe a sufficient Number of Iron Pipes might be made in about a Year after contracted for; but N. B. Suffer me to add, and to prevent Suspicion, I have left off Trade.

A brief and comprehensive Plan for Peace and Reconciliation between Great Britain and her Colonies of ungrateful Children, viz.

WHEREAS the uniting Colonies have deputed eight Members as Deputies to manage for the Whole, I propose that Government may depute the same Number as Plenipotentiaries, and that these sixteen may meet as soon as convenient in the Island of Bermudas, a very healthful Place, and there dispassionately concert a happy and durable Plan of Union, and just proportionate limited Taxation; with a Clause to grant to any Colony a *Representation*, on their petitioning for the same, agreeable to a Plan,

Plan, mine or other to be concerted ; and if those Plenipotentiaries from each, Great Britain and her Colonies, should agree mutually and cordially, 'twill be *glorious* ; if not, then an unhappy Determinative must ensue, to fight it out, until the Faulty, or Refractory, become more humble, which Sufferings may probably produce.

In the mean Time, I would wish all to be content with making *Preparations* only, for *Devastation*, and lest the Plenipotentiaries, when so met, should not be able to find out a better Expedient for a Plan of Accomodation, and happy and durable Union, I propose that the Mode and Size of parliamentary Taxation of the Colonies, towards the Expence of Protection, Defence, and civil Government, and the Consequence, shall be limited to a *reasonable Standard* in the *Act of Union* ; and to rise and fall in the same Proportion with the British, on Occasions of War and Peace ; and I would also suggest that one Half of the Land Tax enacted every Year by Parliament to be the Proportion of America on that Head, and that they may be allowed to Manufacture for their own Use only, Province by Province, but not to transport without being liable to such Limitations, &c. as Parliament shall judge needful for the Good of the Whole ; and also that the Colonies may be allowed to import certain foreign bulky Articles, as Wine, Currants, &c. from foreign European Countries, without first bringing to England, on paying a Duty of Ten per Cent on the parliamentary Rates.

And lastly, that there shall be a Clause in the Act of Union, that every and each Colony shall be granted a Right to petition the Kind in Council, severally, for Liberty to send Representatives to the Parliament of Great Britain,

Britain, and Dominions thereunto belonging, and that such Representation shall be regulated by *Moderation*, and *mutual Consent*, either on my former *Plan*, or any better, if such can be devised.

AMOR PATRIÆ,

Or, *A Lover of Peace.*

Walworth, Feb. 26, 1776.

To the Printer of the Morning Chronicle.

S I R,

THE *ungrateful Americans*, under a specious Pretence of contending for their Liberties, have long been known to be actuated by republican independant Principles; at least such hath been the Case of the Oliverian Inhabitants of the four N. England Provinces, whose Leaders, under a deceivable Appearance of relieving the Colonies from arbitrary Power, are in Principle ten Times more arbitrary themselves, as the Measures lately taken among them since the Commencement of the illegal Congress have clearly demonstrated; and however their anti-monarchial Friends, either there, or here, may triumph at the little Successes they meet with, it may not be unfitly considered, that every such unhappy Success, in lieu of a Blessing, will probably prove A CURSE upon themselves, by lengthening out the Time of their *criminal Rebellion*, and *adequate Punishment inevitable therefrom*. So that as it now evidently appears

appears *Strength* must be the *Law of Justice*, the *sooner* they are reduced to an *honester* and *humbler*, and more *Justifiable* Way of *Thinking*, as *Subjects*, the *better* : And probably nothing short of *sever* *Sufferings* will *effect* it ; agreeable to the *Sacred Record*, "*When the Judgments of God are in the Earth, her Inhabitants will learn Righteousness.*"

RETRIBUTION.

March 1, 1776.

To the Printer of the Morning Chronicle.

S I R,

WHEN I read the Letters signed Brutus, some of which appear designed to convey, or instill the Principles of Insurrection and Rebellion, I lament the wicked Abuse of the Press; let such Miscreants know, that such flagrant Abuse doth strongly tend to make it absolutely needful for the Public Weal, to concert some Method to prevent such disloyal, ingrateful Performances being inserted by anonymous Authors, or under Roman fictitious Characters, so stabbing in the Dark the best of Characters, and poisoning the Minds of the King's unwary Subjects, with undutiful and disloyal Principles, and to the Disgrace of good Government. I am of the Judgment, that whereas a Law was made by Parliament in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, to oblige every Author of a Pamphlet to affix his proper Christian and Surname, and Place of Abode to that Pamphlet, in order to make himself accountable ; the pre-

sent Times producing so violent and unwarrantable Abuse of the Press, make it needful, for a limited Time, if not perpetual, to require every Author of a printed Letter, wherein any Character is reviled, to affix also his proper Name and Place of Abode to such Letter, in order that the Injured, whether State, or Person, may have Opportunity to bring such Author to Justice, “*Salus Populi, suprema est Lex.*”

AMOR PATRIÆ.

March 2, 1776.

F I N I S.

